

A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF ASPECT  
IN JAPANESE AND ENGLISH

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## Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated  
this thesis is my own work.

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March, 1996



## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is twofold: 1) to analyze the aspect systems of Japanese and English; and 2) to make suggestions for the effective teaching of aspect through observing the errors of learners.

The thesis adopts Kusanagi (1983) to present grammatical forms to express and compare the three aspects i.e. stative, dynamic perfective and dynamic imperfective aspects in both Japanese and English.

Kusanagi's Japanese verb classification is also employed to classify English verbs for verb level investigation. There are six verb classes in Japanese: Stative verbs, Change verbs, Process verbs, Process-Change verbs, Punctual verbs and Durative verbs, while English contains only five and does not include Durative verbs. We will show that Japanese Change verbs have the most complicated association with English verbs because Japanese *-teiru* has more stative implications than imperfective meaning.

An analysis of the errors of first year students of Japanese is conducted using this analysis. Error analysis shows that learners make mistakes of Interference most frequently. This suggests that a contrastive analysis of Japanese and English aspect is significant for teaching Japanese aspect, since such errors are predictable in the light of contrastive analysis.

Our analysis will attempt to establish an hierarchy of difficulties in learning the *-teiru* form. Considering the difference in use between *-teiru* and *be -ing*, the hierarchy of 1) progress, 2) mere state and result, and 3) experience will be determined.

We will also examine error frequency among verb classes and attempt to establish an hierarchy of difficulties; namely, 1) Change and Durative verbs, 2) Punctual verbs, and 3) Stative, Process, and Process-Change verbs.

Finally we will consider suggestions to teaching Japanese aspect as well as further research objects.

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## ROMANIZATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

### Romanization

The Romanization used in this thesis follows the Hepburn system. However, I used /aa, ii, uu, ee, oo/ for long vowels instead of /a, i, u, e, o /. Also, for double consonants, /k, p, s, t/ are used instead of /t/:

**e.g. yukkuri, sappari, kossori, ottori**

### Translation and abbreviations

- (1) All translations are my own except when otherwise indicated.
- (2) The source of each example is given in brief below the sentence and full details are given in the 'Index of Sources.' Unreferenced examples are my own.
- (3) Abbreviations and symbols used for English gloss are as follows.

Adj.:	Adjective
COP:	Copula
NOM:	Nominalizer
PLU:	Plural
NEG:	Negative
PASS:	Passive
-te:	to indicate the <i>-te</i> form of verbs which is used to signify order of actions, connecting clauses, etc.
SUB:	Subject marker
TOP:	Topic marker
ACC:	Accusative
GEN	Genitive
LOC:	Locative
DIR:	Direction marker
Q:	Quotation marker
EP:	Explanation particle as in kiteru- <u>n</u> -da
FP:	Final particle
PUR:	Purpose

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# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Overview

In this thesis, I will compare and contrast Japanese and English aspect. Dahl (1985:44) comments that aspect is one of the most difficult categories of grammar for foreign language learners to master. Learners of Japanese must understand and be able to use aspect if they are to become proficient speakers of Japanese, and many textbooks deal with the usage of *-teiru*, which is the most crucial form in Japanese aspect. However, the explications and instructions in the textbooks do not adequately support the teaching of aspect. Learners often commit errors of aspect in their own production of Japanese, and misinterpret Japanese sentences. For example, the following sentence may be misleading for learners.

- (1) Chichi wa ima Nihon e it-teiru.  
father TOP now Japan DIR go-*teiru*

My father is now in Japan.

In this sentence, *itteiru* (the *-teiru* form of *iku* 'go') refers to the situation where the father has gone to Japan, and is still there at the speech moment. However, English speaking Japanese learners tend to interpret this sentence



to mean that the father is now on his way to Japan. This misunderstanding is due to the difference between the Japanese verb *iku* and the English verb *go* with regard to aspect. Students' errors of this kind will be explained by the contrastive study of Japanese and English aspects. If we are able to clarify how their aspect systems are different and to detail the distinctions and similarities between Japanese and English, it will be of great help to teachers and learners of Japanese.

The ultimate goal of this thesis is to look at errors of aspect by native English speakers who learn Japanese. Understanding what errors students make and why they make them will be valuable for Japanese teachers when teaching in the classroom.

This thesis contains six chapters. In this chapter I will consider concepts of aspect, and the main questions concerning aspect that scholars have raised. Chapter Two summarises and examines the results of earlier research on aspect in each language and of contrastive studies. Chapters Three and Four contain a contrastive study of aspect between Japanese and English. Chapter Three investigates grammatical forms which express aspectual meanings. Chapter Four presents verb categorization by focusing on the Japanese form *-teiru* and by seeking to identify its equivalent form in English. Chapter Five considers errors produced by English speaking Japanese learners. The last chapter concludes and summarises the thesis.

The data to be used in this thesis are of four kinds: 1) quotations of examples used by linguists in their works; 2) my own examples; 3) quotations from existing written materials such as novels, newspapers, essays, interviews, etc.; and 4) examples of errors by learners. In summarizing earlier research I use data in categories 1) and 2). To explain and demonstrate actual uses of the selected method, data in category 3) will be given. To describe errors, category 4) is utilized.

The data in 4) were gathered from students who took written Japanese courses at the Australian National University in the year 1995. The courses were Written Japanese A & B which are offered mainly to the first year students. Data in the first and second categories are in either English or Japanese. Japanese examples are translated into English at word level and at sentence level. The source will be abbreviated and given inside square brackets at the end of each example. Details of abbreviations are shown in the "Index of Sources" at the end of this thesis.

## 1.2 Concepts of Aspect

### 1.2.1 Temporal categories

Both tense and aspect are temporal grammatical categories, which in the case of both Japanese and English, are expressed by the predicate. The predicate is

the main part of the sentence and characterizes events which are actions, states, situations, properties, or effects. Tense and aspect, together with other verbal categories such as mood and voice describe an event, but they do so in different ways. I will consider concepts of aspect in 1.2.2 and then differentiate aspect from tense and aktionsart in 1.2.3 and 1.2.4, respectively.

### 1.2.2 Aspect

According to Jespersen (1924:286) the oldest Aryan languages had only aspectual distinctions, and tense distinctions developed out of them. Binnick (1991:135-6) reports that the term "aspect" first appeared in English in 1853 (the *Oxford English Dictionary*). The term has its origin in a Slavic word, more specifically Russian *vid*. *Vid* is cognate with the English words, *view* and *vision*, while the linguistic origin of *aspect* is *spect-*, which means 'see, look (at), view' (cf. *prospect*, *inspect*, *spectacle*, etc.) according to Binnick. The study of aspect in English was inspired by the study of Slavic grammar and became active at the end of the nineteenth century<sup>1</sup>.

Holt (1943:6) defines aspects as 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation'. Comrie (1976), adopts this notion of aspect and introduces the notions of perfective and imperfective aspects. The

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<sup>1</sup>See Jespersen (1955) for details of the historical background of aspect.



former 'looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the latter looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation' (1976:4). The reason the latter is called imperfective is that the event can not be perfective when it is cut in the course of the event. In other words, at the point of cutting the event is still ongoing.

Another significant point to be understood is the fact that aspect is a grammatical category (Comrie 1976, Chung & Timberlake 1985, Andersen 1990, etc.). Emphasizing this point, Dahl (1985:18) attempts a morphological approach to languages of the world showing that categories of tense, mood and aspect are encoded by verb inflection, derivational affix, and periphrastic means, e.g. auxiliaries.

In this thesis we follow Comrie and define aspect as a grammatical category which views a phenomenon as a whole or as a point (period) of time inside a phenomenon. Keeping this in mind, we consider the difference between aspect and tense/aktionsart in the next two subsections.

### 1.2.3 Aspect and tense

Tense shows when an event or phenomena takes place, and there are two types of tense, i.e. absolute tense and relative tense. In the former the

speakers relate the event time to the speech moment. This is deictic because the utterance directs the event time and it includes past, present, and future.

Examples of absolute tense follow:

- (2) a. I wrote a letter to her yesterday. (past)
- b. I am writing a letter to her now. (present)
- c. I will write a letter to her tomorrow. (future)

Above are examples of absolute tense in which the speech moment is the reference point and the event is expressed as either past (2a), present (2b), or future (2c) compared to the speech moment.

Relative tense demonstrates how the time between two events is related. This is not deictic since the utterance does not point to the times of the two events, and the domains are anterior, simultaneous, and posterior (Comrie 1976:2, Dahl 1985:25).

The following are examples of relative tense:

- (3) a. I wrote a letter before I watched TV. (anterior)
- b. I am writing a letter watching TV. (simultaneous)
- c. I will write a letter after I finish watching TV.  
(posterior)

The time of watching TV is a reference point and writing the letter takes place either before (3a), at the same time (3b), or after it (3c).

Concerning the relationship between aspect and tense, Dahl remarks that the distinction between tense and aspect is not clear. Chung & Timberlake (1985:256) have gone so far as to attempt to unify them under the category of tense-aspect by assuming that both show the relationship between an event and salient points on the temporal dimension. Nevertheless, most linguists attempt to analyze temporal expressions from the assumption that tense and aspect are different (Jespersen 1924, Comrie 1976, Andersen 1990, etc.). In particular, the difference between the two is well described by Comrie (1976:5).

Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense).

To sum up, tense describes when a phenomenon happened, will happen, or is happening. On the other hand, aspect refers to a different way of viewing a phenomenon.

#### 1.2.4 Aspect and aktionsart

There is another category called aktionsart which some linguists regard as an aspect.



Jespersen uses the German term *aktionsart* in the same way as English aspect, while many other linguists regard *aktionsart* as referring to types of actions/situations such as stative, durative or punctual actions and therefore as a part of semantics or lexicon. In *aktionsart* the meaning of a verb in its basic form is considered and sorted out according to its lexical meaning.

The meanings of each *aktionsart* are given below.

- (4) a. Stative: for verbs which express a state such as *be, exist, live*, and also verbs which express inner situations (intellectual, attitudinal, and sensual) including *think, feel, believe, like, hate*, etc.
- b. Durative: for verbs which express actions which have a certain duration like *read, write, eat, drink, work, play*.
- c. Punctual: for verbs which express punctuality, i.e. occur (begin and finish) in a moment like *die, drop, turn on/off*, etc.

Brinton (1988:3) comments on the divergence of the two terms,

Aspect is grammatical because, broadly speaking, it is expressed by verbal inflectional morphology and periphrases, *aktionsart* by the lexical meaning of verbs and verbal derivational morphology. Aspect is subjective because the speaker chooses a particular viewpoint, whereas *aktionsart*, since it concerns the given nature of the event and not the perspective of the speaker, is objective.

The argument that *aktionsart* is lexical and is different from aspect seems convincing and thus *aktionsart* should not be included in aspect.

### 1.3 General Problems in An Analysis of Aspect

The complexity of dealing with aspect lies in the fact that a phenomenon in the actual world and a linguistic expression do not necessarily correspond on a one to one basis, as pointed out by Kusanagi (1983:167). One phenomenon may be expressed in two or more ways using different forms as in the examples below.

- (5)    a.     That magazine is on the table.  
         b.     That magazine was on the table yesterday.  
         c.     This magazine has been on the table for a long time.

All three are possible ways of describing the phenomenon when the speaker notices a magazine on a table at the time of utterance. It is the speaker's focus on the phenomena that determines the form. In (5a) the speaker focuses on only the present phenomenon (the existence of a magazine at the speech moment), while (5b) looks back to the time when the speaker noticed the magazine some time earlier than the speech moment (in this case, yesterday). (5c) reports not only the speech moment but also an earlier time when the speaker saw the magazine on the table. Thus a phenomenon in the actual world can be expressed in many ways taking various forms.



Another problem is cross-linguistic. As Andersen (1990:63) comments, it is recognized that different world languages have their own ways of signalling aspect. The speakers of the language choose the appropriate aspect automatically when they make an utterance. Dahl states that 'our innate competence determines (rather than 'specifies') what is expected in a language'. In English and Japanese the forms used to signalize aspect differ. As a result, the forms do not correspond to each other on a one to one basis. It is possible to express the same phenomenon in more than one way in both Japanese and English.

The following pair of sentences describes the speaker's going to Japan next year:

- (6) a. English: I will go to Japan next year.  
 b. Japanese: Rainen Nihon e ikimasu.  
 next year Japan to go-future

However, the sentences in (7) are available as variants in Japanese.

- (7) a. Rainen Nihon e iku tsumori-desu.  
 next year Japan to go plan COP  
 b. Rainen Nihon e iku koto-ni-shiteiru.  
 next year Japan to go thing(NOM) decided

In English as well, the following deliver the same, or at least a similar meaning.

- (8) a. I am going to Japan next year.  
 b. I intend to go to Japan next year.  
 c. I plan to go to Japan next year.

As illustrated, correspondence between Japanese and English is not on a one to one basis. Which forms are used in Japanese and which forms in English needs to be clarified.

The framework for analysis of aspect proposed by Kusanagi (1983) is adopted for this study. Consider the following sentence.

- (9) Ane wa sono ei-tango o oboe-teiru.  
 big TOP that English- ACC remember-teiru  
 sister word

*Oboeteiru* in (9) can have two interpretations; it can either signify the present state after remembering the English word (stative aspect) or a present ongoing action of remembering the English word (dynamic imperfective aspect). If it is written as in (10) below, the aspect is realised clearly.

- (10) a. Ane wa moo sono ei-tango o oboeteiru.  
 already  
 b. Ane wa ima hisshini sono ei-tango o oboeteiru.  
 now earnestly

(10a) indicates stative aspect, namely the state of remembering the English word after the action of remembering has taken place, whereas (10b) shows dynamic imperfective aspect, namely the big sister's present progressive action of remembering the English word.

Kusanagi sees three possible aspects for phenomena in the world, i.e. stative, dynamic perfective, and dynamic imperfective aspects. Details of these three are discussed in Chapter Three.

## 2.1 Japanese

### 2.1.1 Traditional grammar

A Japanese grammar of native tradition was mainly explored by Japanese grammarians' until the introduction of Western descriptive grammar, although there were some studies by foreigners such as Nathan Dabney's (*Arts de l'usage de la langue*) by Rodrigues (1604-5), before that. Systematic description of Japanese grammar started appearing in the 19th C. (1860s).

Among them, Nasukawa Kijiroku (1770) mainly considers verb conjugation (inflection), Noronaga Masamori (1770) discusses particles, Akiba Umetada (1824) examines word classes etc. according to Nitta (1987).

## Chapter 2 Previous Research

In this chapter we will review previous research on aspect in both Japanese and English, and in cross linguistics. First we will observe in Section 2.1 how aspect has previously been dealt with in Japanese, and then the previous study of aspect in English in Section 2.2. Section 2.3 will be devoted to reviewing contrastive studies between Japanese and English.

### 2.1 Japanese

#### 2.1.1 Traditional grammar

A Japanese grammar of native tradition was mainly explored by Japanese grammarians<sup>1</sup> until the introduction of Western descriptive grammar, although there were some studies by foreigners such as *Nihon Daibuntan* (*Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*) by Rodriguez (1604-8), before that. Systematic description of Japanese grammar started appearing in the Meiji Era (1868 -

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<sup>1</sup>Among them Nariakira Fujitani (1778) mainly considers verb conjugation (inflection), Norinaga Motoori (1785) discusses particles, Akira Suzuki (1824) examines word classes, etc. according to Nitta (1982).

1912).

Koyano (1978) introduces Matsushita (1901) which deals with the temporal expressions in Japanese in terms of Setsuwaji (interpreted as the utterance time) and Jijooji (the situation time). Koyano considers that Matsushita's Setsuwaji and Jijooji correspond to tense and aspect respectively.

Setsuwaji is set at the speech moment and expresses when the event happens, i.e. in the present, past, future, or by reference to another category, futeiji which refers to the indefinite time. Jijooji expresses how an event relates to the speech moment and is divided into three: genzen (perfective), kizen (resultative), and shoozen (volitional). Matsushita arranges the above categories in the following table using the verb *iku* 'go' as an example.

(1) Matsushita (1901)

	Jijooji			
		genzen	kizen	shoozen
Setsuwaji	present	<i>iku</i> 'go'	<i>itteiru</i> 'have gone'	<i>ikotosuru</i> 'intend to go'
	past	<i>itta</i> 'went'	<i>itteita</i> 'had gone'	<i>ikotoshita</i> 'intended to to'
	future	<i>ikoo</i> 'will go'	<i>itteiroo</i> 'will have gone'	<i>ikotoshiyoo</i> 'will intend to go'
	indefinite	<i>iku</i> 'go'	<i>itteiru</i> 'have gone'	<i>ikotosuru</i> 'intend to go'

Koyano sees that Matsushita as important for introducing two standards, i.e. tense and aspect, and innovating by arranging them in two directions, horizontally and vertically.



### 2.1.2 Post-Kindaichi research

It is widely accepted that the research on aspect in modern Japanese linguistics originates with Kindaichi (1950) (cf. Okuda 1978). In this article Kindaichi presented a verb classification based on the meanings that different verbs express with the *-teiru* form. Aside from details of the verb classification, which will be given in 2.1.3, Kindaichi points out that there are three meanings of *-teiru*, i.e. progress, result and mere state, which can be understood by shedding light on the use of the *-teiru* form. In this respect, the investigation of aspect in modern Japanese linguistics should begin with the recognition of distinctive verb classes in connection with aspectual meanings.

Various grammatical forms expressing aspect in Japanese, *-ru*, *-teiru*, *-teshimau*, *-hajimeru*, *-tsuzukeru*, *-owaru*, etc. have been investigated. The choice of these forms depends on the conceptualization of aspect. Previous studies can be divided into the following two groups according to how they do so:

(2) Aspect is a grammatical category which refers to:

a. Whether or not phenomena are viewed as a whole;

(Suzuki (1957), Fujii (1966), Okuda (1978), Kusanagi (1983), Takahashi (1985), Kudo (1987), etc.)

- b. The stage of phenomena, i.e. beginning, middle and end.

(Kindaichi (1955), Takahashi (1969), Yoshikawa (1973), Teramura (1984), etc.)

The difference between these two groups is manifest in the grammatical forms adopted by each. The group (2a) regard *-ru* and *-teiru* as opposition set of aspects; i.e. *-ru* looks at phenomena as a whole (perfective aspect), while *-teiru* does not (imperfective aspect). On the other hand, research adopting (2b) includes not only *-ru* and *-teiru* but also *-hajimeru* 'start -ing', *-tsuzukeru* 'continue -ing', *-owaru/teshimau* 'finish -ing', etc. as aspectual forms.

With regard to the forms included in (2b), Kusanagi (1983) excludes *-hajimeru*, *-owaru/shimau*, and *-tsuzukeru* proposing that they refer to situation themselves - starting some action/event, finishing and continuing - and that these situations can be seen as a whole. Using *yomu* 'read', the forms can be rephrased as follows:

- (3)
- |    |                                          |   |                                                     |
|----|------------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>yomi-hajimeru</i> 'start reading'     | → | <i>yomukoto o hajimeru</i><br>reading ACC start     |
| b. | <i>yomi-owaru</i> 'finish reading'       | → | <i>yomukoto o owaru</i><br>reading ACC finish       |
| c. | <i>yomi-tsuzukeru</i> 'continue reading' | → | <i>yomukoto o tsuzukeru</i><br>reading ACC continue |

These verbs can also take the *-teiru* form as in (4) below,

(4) The *-teiru* form

- a. *Yomi-hajimeru* → *yomi-hajime-teiru* 'have started reading'
- b. *yomi-owaru* → *yomi-owat-teiru* 'have finished reading'
- c. *Yomi-tsuzukeru* → *yomi-tsuzuke-teiru* 'be continuing reading'

Takahashi (1985:8) calls these forms *Phase Verbs* as they refer to phases of the action/event and they can be dealt with in the same way as other lexical verbs. Also, these forms are not treated as aspectual expressions in (2a), which regards aspect as whether a phenomenon is viewed as a whole or not.

### 2.1.3 Verb typology

As noted above, Kindaichi is the starting point for modern Japanese aspectual study. The verb classification proposed by Kindaichi is as follows:

(5) Kindaichi's verb categorization

- a. Stative verbs: Verbs do not take *-teiru* and express states  
(eg. *aru* 'be', *dekiru* 'can do', etc.)
- b. Durative verbs: Verbs express progressive actions aspect with *-teiru*  
(*yomu* 'read', *kaku* 'write', *hanasu* 'speak',  
*miru* 'look at', etc.)
- c. Punctual verbs: Verbs referring to momentary actions or changes  
which express result with *-teiru*  
(e.g. *shinu* 'die', *sameru* 'wake up', *tomaru*



'stop', *shiru* 'get to know', etc.)

- d. The Fourth Group verbs: Verbs always used with *-teiru* which express mere state  
(e.g. *sobieru* 'stand tall', *sugureru* 'be superior', *niru* 'resemble', etc.)

(6) provides illustrations of each verb class.

(6) Kindaichi's examples (p.p.7-8)

- a. Stative verbs:

Eigo no kaiwa ga dekiru.  
English GEN conversation SUB can do-state

I am proficient in English conversation.

- b. Durative verbs:

Ame ga fut-teiru.  
rain SUB fall-progress

It is raining.

- c. Punctual verbs:

Dentoo ga tsui-teiru.  
light SUB be on-result

The light is on.

- d. The Fourth Group verbs:

Yama ga sobie-teiru.  
mountain SUB stands tall-state

The mountain stands tall.

It should be noted, however, that as Kindaichi himself points out, the above classification allows a number of verbs to belong to both the Durative and Punctual verb classes. In other words, some Durative verbs can also express Result with *-teiru*. Consider, for example, the meaning of *chitteiru* (the *-teiru* form of *chiru* 'fall' which is included in the Durative verb class by Kindaichi) in the following sentence.

- (7) a. Hana ga chit-teiru.  
flower SUB fall-teiru  
b. The petals are falling.  
or The petals have fallen.

*Chiru* 'fall' is included in the Durative verb class by Kindaichi since according to him 'falling' has duration. As shown in (7b), *chitteiru* has two possible interpretations, i.e. 'are falling' (progress) and 'have fallen' (result). In the same way, some Durative verbs express not only Progress but also Result.

Furthermore, the verb *kekconsuru* 'get married' which is classified as a Punctual verb by Kindaichi does not always express result with *-teiru*.

- (8) a. Kare wa ima kekkonshiteiru.  
he TOP now get married-result  
He is married now.

- b. Kare wa go-nen mae ni kekkonshiteiru.  
           five year ago in get married-non-result

He got married five years ago.

As illustrated in (8b), *kekkonshiteiru* (*-teiru* form of *kekkonsuru*) may also express non-result, so the statement in (8b) does not concern the person's present marital status but reports the fact that he got married five years ago. Even if he divorced last year, (8b) is still correct.

In order to resolve the problems described above, Fujii (1966) and Yoshikawa (1973) establish a new opposition set of verbs, i.e. resultative verbs vs. non-resultative verbs within the classes of Durative and Punctual verbs. (9) gives examples of Durative verbs, (9a) resultative and (9b) non-resultative, while (10) shows cases of Punctual verbs in the same way as (9).

(9) Durative verbs:

- a. Hana ga chit-teiru.  
      flower SUB fall-result or non-result

     The petals have fallen.  
 or   The petals are falling.

- b. Ima ringo o tabe-teiru.  
      now apple ACC eat-non-result

Yoshikawa explains that Durative verbs usually express Progress with *-teiru* in (9b), yet Resultative verbs within Durative verbs can indicate both progress

and result as in (9a).

Regarding Punctual verbs, Yoshikawa comments that Resultative punctual verbs indicate result with *-teiru*, and Non-resultative punctual verbs express neither result nor progress. (10a) and (10b) give examples of resultative and non-resultative punctual verbs.

(10) Punctual verbs:

- a. Ame ga yan-deiru.  
rain SUB stop-result

It stopped raining.

- b. Sono jiko o mokugekishi-teiru.  
that accident ACC witness-non-result

I witnessed the accident.

Yoshikawa interprets (10b) as showing neither result nor progress but experience, as in (8b) above. Yoshikawa cites the following inventory of verbs by Fujii, as the best way to conceptualize aspect.

(11) Fujii's inventory of verbs

- a. Durative non-resultative verbs

*yomu* 'read', *kaku* 'write', *hataraku* 'work', *utau* 'sing', and *kiku* 'listen'

- b. Durative resultative verbs

*chiru* 'fall', *ochiru* 'drop', *kiru* 'put on', *noru* 'ride', *kuru* 'come', *iku* 'go', etc.

c. Punctual non-resultative verbs

*ichibetsusuru* 'glance', *sooguusuru* 'encounter', *shiriaru* 'get to know', *mokugekisuru* 'witness', etc.

d. Punctual resultative verbs

*kekconsuru* 'get married', *owaru* 'finish', *mitsukaru* 'be found', *hajimeru* 'begin', *shuppatsusuru* 'start', etc.

In summary, regarding previous aspectual studies of modern Japanese linguistics, scholars differ in what they see as aspectual forms and their different opinions are determined by their concepts of aspect. In addition, verbs can be categorised by the meaning they express with *-ru* and *-teiru* forms. Kindaichi categorizes verbs into four groups, i.e. Stative verbs, Durative verbs, Punctual verbs, and the Fourth group verbs, but Fujii and Yoshikawa further divide Durative and Punctual verb groups into Resultative verbs and Non-resultative verbs.

## 2.2 English

### 2.2.1 Traditional grammar

According to Brinton (1988), until the early twentieth century aspectual



research in English chiefly concentrated on formal expressions, although a notional approach to aspect also began to appear (Curme:1922). Also *aktionsart* which is still confused with aspect is treated by some linguists such as Poutsma (1904) and Deutschbein (1939).

Jespersen (1924) proposes conceivable distinctions of aspect as follows:

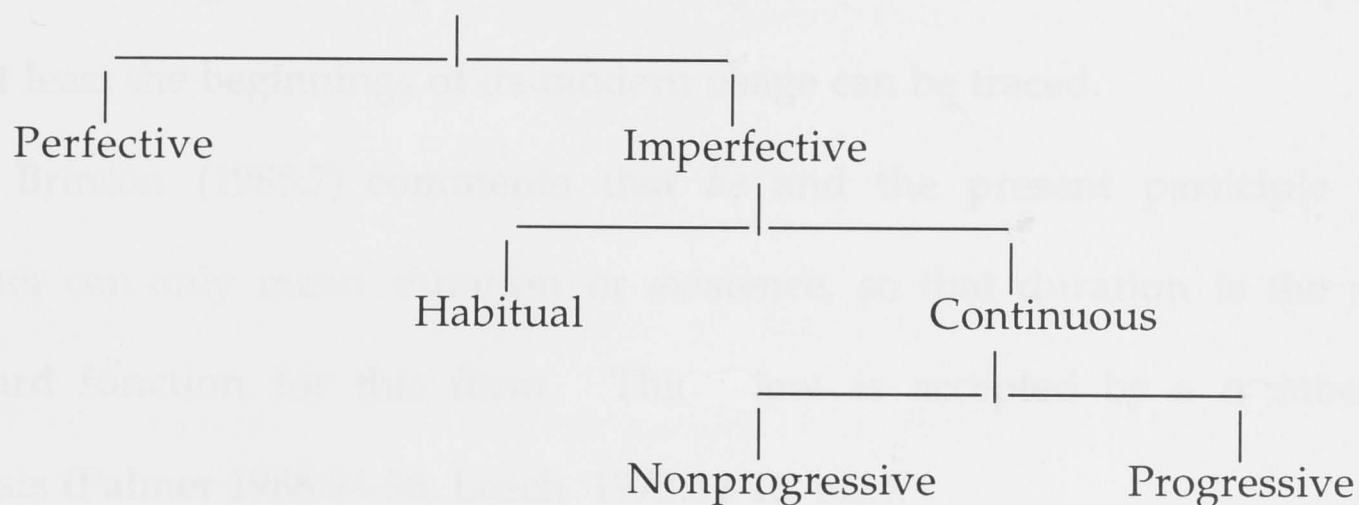
- (12)
- a. the distinction between the aorist and the imperfect;
  - b. the distinction between 'conclusive' and 'non-conclusive' verbs;
  - c. the distinction between the durative and the punctual;
  - d. the distinction between the finished and the unfinished;
  - e. the distinction between a single action and habitual or repeated actions;
  - f. the distinction between stability and change; and
  - g. the distinction between the implication and non-implication of result. (Jespersen 1924:287-288)

However, Brinton points out that Jespersen fails to establish aspect distinctions by confusing aspect with *aktionsart*: (a), (d) and (e) are aspect distinction, but (b), (f), and (g) relate to *aktionsart*.

### 2.2.2 Notional view

It was Holt (1943) who defined aspects as 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation', as mentioned in the Introduction. Following Holt, Comrie (1976:25) proposes an opposition set of two aspectual meanings: perfective aspect and imperfective aspect. He divides imperfective aspect into two subclasses: habitual aspect and continuous aspect, and further divides continuous into progressive aspect and non-progressive aspect as illustrated below.

(13) Comrie's distinctions (p.25)



Comrie concludes that the English aspectual system is shown in the opposing set of progressive aspect expressed by the progressive form, and non-progressive aspect expressed by other forms.

### 2.2.3 Formal studies

In English, formal study, i.e. what forms convey what meanings, has been the main stream of aspectual scholarship (Jespersen 1933, Calver 1946, Hatcher 1951, Berndt 1989, etc.). The most studied forms are the progressive form which consists of auxiliary *be* + present participle *-ing*, and the perfect form which consists of auxiliary *have* + past participle *-en/ed/t*. Below we will consider the progressive and the perfect forms.

#### 2.2.3.1 The progressive form

Berndt (1989:151) reports that the development of the 'be + present participle' construction began as early as the Old English period, and it is to this period that at least the beginnings of its modern usage can be traced.

Brinton (1988:7) comments that *be* and the present participle used together can only mean duration or existence, so that duration is the most standard function for this form. This view is accepted by a number of linguists (Palmer 1988:54-56, Leech 1973:14-16, etc.).

There is however, another view of the progressive form. The progressive forms are called the 'expanded tenses' by Jespersen in *Essentials of English Grammar* (1933). The term 'expanded tenses' implies a 'temporal frame encompassing something else, which as often as not is to be understood from the whole situation'(p.264).



If we say *he was (on) hunting*, we mean that the hunting (which may be completed or maybe completed now) had begun, but was not completed at the time mentioned or implied in the sentence; this element of relative incompleteness is very important if we want to understand the expanded tenses, even if it is not equally manifest in all cases. (Jespersen 1933:263)

Hatcher (1951:258-9) also rejects duration as the basic meaning of the progressive form:

...there is no action however brief which may not be conceived and presented as (or as if) in progress, just as there is no activity of such lengthy duration that it may not be summed up in its entirety. Nor is there an inevitable connection between presentation of aspect in a given context and the aspectual suggestion of individual verbs in isolation.

#### 2.2.3.2 The perfect form

In his book, *Growth and Structure of the English Language* Jespersen (1948:192), comments on the English perfect as follows:

The use of *have* and *had* as an auxiliary for the perfect and pluperfect began in the Old English period, but it was then chiefly found with transitive verbs, and the real perfect-signification had scarcely yet been completely evolved from the original meaning of connexion: *ic h bbe pone fisc gefan-genne* meant at first 'I have the fish (as) caught'.

The most widely accepted interpretation of the perfect would be the present relevance theory (Calver 1946, McCoard 1978, etc.). According to this

theory, when the present perfect instead of the past is used, it indicates that the action has been completed or the result of the action is still important to the speaker at the speech moment.

The perfect form has also been the subject of great discussion as to whether it falls under tense, aspect or some other category. According to Bauer (1970), a number of linguists such as Hockett (1958), Bodelsen (1964), Kuryłowicz (1964), Nickel (1965) and Strang (1968) include the perfect in aspect on the ground that it indicates perfectivity of the expressed activity. On the other hand, Bauer claims that the English perfect is neither a tense nor an aspect, but belongs to an independent category.

Comrie (1976:5-6) comments,

The precise differentiation of tense and aspect is particularly important in considering the perfect, e.g. English *John has read the book* (as opposed to *John read the book*), Spanish *Juan ha leído el libro* (as opposed to *Juan leyó el libro*). Traditionally, in works that make a distinction between tense and aspect, the perfect has usually, but not always, been considered an aspect, although it is doubtful whether the definition of aspect given above can be interpreted to include the perfect as an aspect. However, the perfect is equally not just a tense, since it differs in meaning from the various tense forms. Since the perfect is very often referred to as an aspect, discussion of it has been included in the present book.

The perfect can not be a tense because it does not fit into one of the three tense distinctions, i.e. past, present or future, although it has something to do with time (anteriority compared to the speech time). But the perfect

form is also different from perfective aspect because 'perfective' is a single aspect which indicates wholeness of an event/situation, while the 'perfect' refers to accomplished fact.

## 2.3 Contrastive Study

Most contrastive studies examine morphemes in both languages and compare the Japanese sentences with the English translation (Kunihiro 1987, Kajiware 1989, Shiraishi 1991, Shimouchi 1992, etc.).

Shiraishi (1991) first categorizes verbs by lexical meaning of Japanese verbs as follows.

### (14) Shiraishi's categorization (p.57)

#### a. Verbs of action

*kaku* 'write', *taberu* 'eat', *aruku* 'walk', *hashiru* 'run', etc.

#### b. Verbs of change

*shinu* 'die', *wareru* 'split', *fueru* 'increase', etc.

#### c. Verbs of existence

*iru/aru* 'exist'

#### d. Verbs of state

*ookisugiru* 'is too big', *nagasugiru* 'is too long', *mieru* 'can see',  
*kikoeru* 'can hear', etc.

As Shiraishi points out, some Verbs of state, e.g. *ookisugiru* 'too big' in Japanese are adjectives in English.

At the formal level, Shiraishi reports that the Japanese -ta form and the English past form -ed are used to express the past. -Teiru and V-ing are used to express the present state with Verbs of action and change. However, a difference between -*teiru* and *be -ing* is observed in habit and generic truth: namely, -*teiru* can be used to express habit and generic truth, but the English counterpart is  $\emptyset$  form not *be -ing* as shown in (15).

(15) Shiraishi's examples (p.59)

- a. The Japanese -*teiru* form

Chikyuu wa mawat-teiru.  
earth TOP go around-generic truth

- b. The English  $\emptyset$  form

The earth goes around.

Both Kajiwara (1989) and Shimouchi (1992) studied the -*teiru* form. Kajiwara reports that in Japanese the -*teiru* form expresses state, experience, result, progress and repetition and goes on to consider how the -*teiru* form is expressed in English.



He employs the binary system of [ $\pm$  stative] to distinguish Japanese verbs. According to Kajiwara, in some verb pairs such as *aisuru*/*aishiteiru* (both translated 'love') and *shiru*/*shitteiru* 'know', the *-ru* form indicates active, and the *-teiru* form stative, whereas in English they are both translated *love* and *know* and indicate stative aspect. Thus, he explains that some English verbs like *love* and *know* bear both [ $\pm$ stative] aspects, while in Japanese the *-teiru* form is required to express state. This applies to stative verbs including *niteiru* 'resemble', *sundeiru* 'live', *omotteiru* 'think', *aketeiru* 'open', etc.

Kajiwara further suggests that the *-teiru* form can also show experience and result. In experience the action is regarded as a past event, and result shows the remaining state after an action such as *sundeiru* 'live (state)' after *sumu* 'live', *tsuketeiru* 'light being on (state)' after *tsukeru* 'turn on', and *aketeiru* 'open (state)' after *akeru* 'open'.

In addition, Kajiwara points out that the *-teiru* form is equivalent to the progressive form in English, when it expresses progress aspect and repeat.

Shimouchi (1992) compares Japanese *-teiru* with the English perfect form. He explains that the two forms have the same structure, i.e. *shite* (perfective) + *iru* (present) and *have* (present) + *past participle* (perfect). Japanese *-teiru* corresponds to English perfect, progressive, and stative verbs.

(23) Shimouchi's examples from a novel (p.p.535-536)



a. Perfect

..muteppoo de son bakari shi-teiru.  
recklessness COP lose nothing but do-perfect

...my inherent recklessness has brought me nothing but trouble.

b. Progress

..kireina ha o hi ni kazashite, tomodachi ni  
beautiful blade ACC sun to hold up friend to

mise-teita-ra...  
show-progress-past-if

..I was holding up the beautiful blade to show my friends...

c. Stative

..mannaka ni kuri no ki ga ippon tat-teiru.  
center in chestnut GEN tree SUB one stand-state

..right in the middle of which stood a chestnut tree.

Shimouchi gives four functions of the English perfect form: perfect, result, experience and duration. Observe (16) as examples of each function.

(16) Shimouchi's examples (p.537)

a. Perfect

The clock has just struck twelve.

b. Result

I've recovered from my illness.

c. Experience

We have met before.

d. Duration

We've known each other for a long time.

Shimouchi claims that 'perfect' is a misleading word for the *have + p.p. form* since the word sometimes shows imperfective actions (progress) as in *I've been waiting since 6 p.m. and still my turn hasn't come*. He presents the hierarchy of functions of the perfect as [perfect > result > experience > duration].

Kunihiro (1987)'s view is unique in the sense that he acknowledges only aspect in -ru and -ta but not tense. He insists that tense is determined pragmatically when those forms are used in each context. Then he compares Japanese -ru and its English counterparts in the translations. (17) is quoted as an example by Kunihiro (p.8).

- (17) Otoko wa ame ga furu noni, kasa mo sasazu  
man TOP rain SUB fall although umbrella even hold-NEG  
ni deteitta.  
with go out-past

The man went out without an umbrella though it was raining.

*Furu* is translated 'was raining' which is the past tense. He explains that *-ta* expresses past pragmatically and when *-ru* is used in embedded clauses and noun phrases, it can also express past. He concludes that we cannot assign *-ru* to present tense and *-ta* to past tense automatically. Thus, for the Japanese *-ta*, the corresponding forms in English are the present tense, the present perfect, the past tense, and the past perfect forms. *-Teiru's* equivalents are the present progressive and the present perfect forms, and the past tense and the psychological past forms. Japanese *shiru* 'know' and *shinjiru* 'believe' cannot express present state with the *-ru* form but can do so with the *-teiru* form.

To summarize, we have presented some previous studies of Japanese and English aspect. Two points should be mentioned:

- (i) word classes are different in Japanese and in English;
- (ii) Japanese does not correspond to English on a one to one basis.

The following table in (18) shows the associations drawn between Japanese forms and English forms in each of the articles discussed above:

## (18) Contrastive study

article	form	aspectual meaning	English form
Shiraishi	<i>-ru</i>	present habit future	Ø, -s (third person) " <i>will/shall + base of verb</i>
	<i>-ta</i>	past	<i>-ed</i> (regular verbs)
	<i>-teiru</i>	present state habit generic truth	<i>be + adjective</i> Ø, -s (third person) "
Kajiwara	<i>-teiru</i>	state duration experience result progress repetition	binary verbs [ $\pm$ stative] " perfect form " progressive form "
Shimouchi	<i>-teiru</i>	state	stative verbs
		action completed • result • experience • repetition	perfect form " "
		action not completed • duration • progress	perfect/progressive forms "
Kunihiro	<i>-ru</i>	imperfective	present/past forms
	<i>-ta</i>	perfective	present/present perfect/ past/past perfect forms
	<i>-teiru</i>	continuation of result • punctual • durative	present perfect form present progressive form

The above contrastive studies are based on translation from Japanese into English, and attempt to compare forms in both languages such as Shiraishi, Kajiwara and Shimouchi, or to compare Japanese novels and their English versions as Kunihiro.

In Chapter Three and Four I will present an analysis of Japanese and English aspect within a framework developed by Kusanagi (1983), and provide equivalence/difference between the two languages at a formal level and a verb class level.

### 3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we will present the expected forms in Japanese and English. As noted in the Introduction, aspect is the grammatical category which refers to whether or not a phenomenon is viewed as a whole. It will be shown that there are two aspectual categories, perfective and imperfective, which are used to express the aspect of an action or state. The main goal of this chapter is to show how these two aspectual categories are used to express the aspect of an action or state in Japanese and English.

Section 3.1 considers the theoretical framework for the analysis. As mentioned in the Introduction, I will adopt Kusanagi (1983) for my analysis of aspect. Sections 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4 consider expected forms in Japanese and English for the aspect categories perfective aspect and imperfective aspect, respectively.

## 3.1 The Theoretical Framework

### 3.1.1 Three levels

Kusanagi (1983) proposes a theory which is based on the following three levels of human speech production:



## Chapter 3 Contrastive Study (1): A Formal Analysis

### 3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we will investigate aspectual forms in Japanese and English. As noted in the Introduction, aspect is the grammatical category which refers to whether or not a phenomenon is viewed as a whole. It will be shown that there are three aspectual distinctions: perfective, imperfective and stative aspects. The main goal of this chapter is to compare grammatical forms that are used to express these aspectual distinctions in Japanese and English.

Section 3.1 considers the theoretical framework for the analysis. As mentioned in the Introduction I will adopt Kusanagi (1983) for my analysis of aspect. Sections 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4 discuss aspectual forms in Japanese and English for stative aspect, dynamic perfective aspect, and dynamic imperfective aspect, respectively.

### 3.1 The Theoretical Framework

#### 3.1.1 Three levels

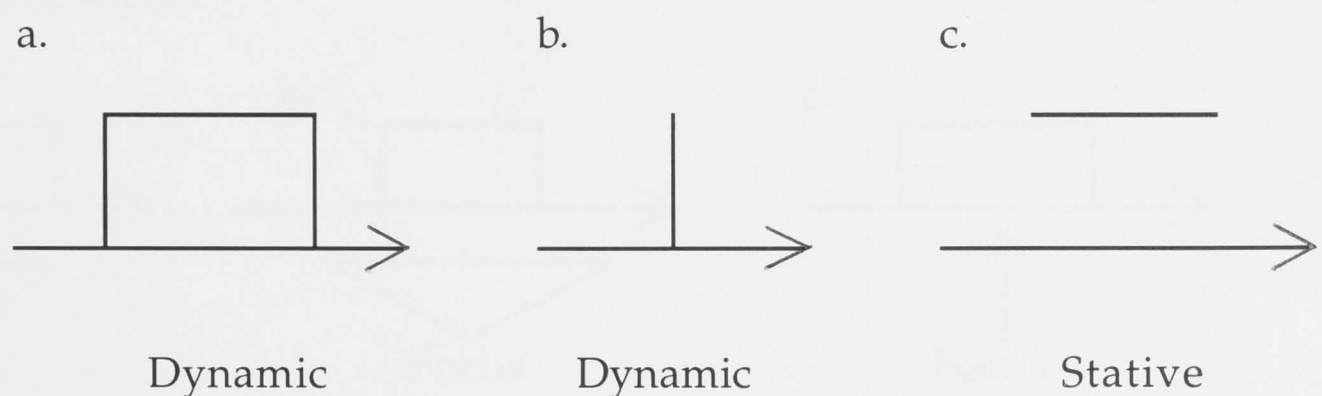
Kusanagi (1983) proposes a theory which is based on the following three levels of human speech production.

- (1)
  - a. the level of phenomena in the actual world
  - b. the recognition level
  - c. the linguistic expression level

Firstly phenomena in the actual world are divided into stative phenomena and dynamic phenomena. Stative phenomena are static situations which do not change during the time that they exist. In many languages, including Japanese and English, static situations are expressed by adjectives, a copula or stative verbs. Dynamic phenomena are actions or events in which internal changes are observed. They are typically expressed by dynamic verbs.

These phenomena can be illustrated as in (2), where the line underneath symbolizes the time axis, which proceeds towards the future from the past rightbound.

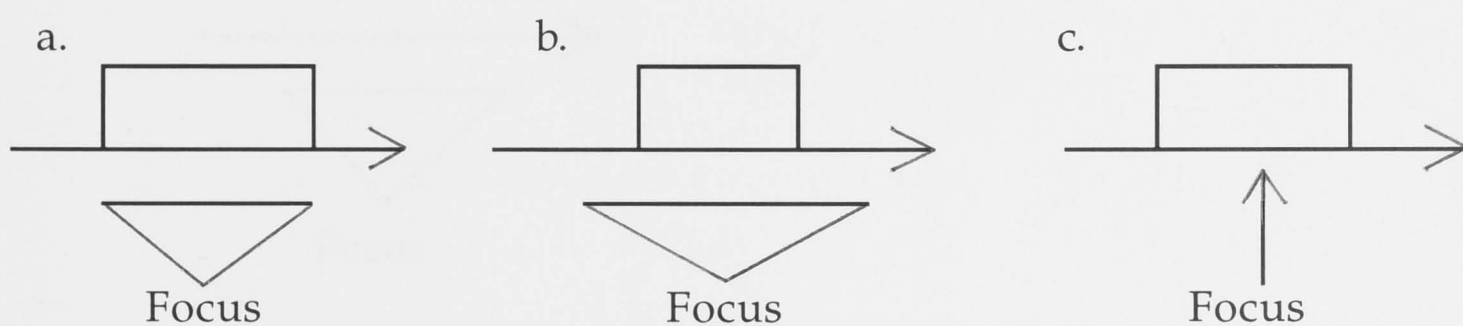
- (2) Phenomena in the actual world



There are two diagrams for dynamic phenomena. In (2a), the left vertical line signifies the beginning point of the phenomenon and the right vertical line its end point. (2b) indicates a phenomenon that takes place momentarily and thus the beginning point and the end point cannot be realised separately. By contrast, there is only one diagram shown for stative phenomena (2c). The stative phenomena do not include internal change, i.e. the beginning and end point, they are always realised as ongoing states as far as perception is concerned.

The speaker's interpretation of a phenomenon is determined at the recognition level. At this level, "focus", i.e. the speaker's attention towards a phenomenon, plays an important role. The focus is cast either over the whole phenomenon or a part of the phenomenon. The following configurations in (3) illustrate the possible relations between the phenomenon and the focus.

(3) Dynamic aspect



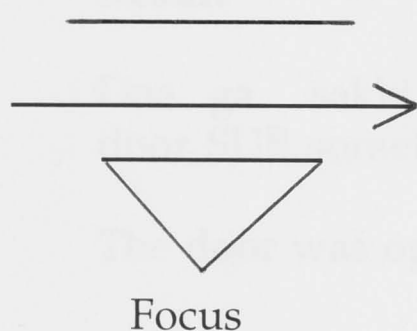
In (3a) and (3b), the focus is cast over whole phenomena: in (3a) the focus is

the same as the phenomenon, and in (3b) the focus is longer than the phenomenon. In (3c) the focus is on a point inside the phenomenon, i.e. the focus is smaller than the phenomenon.

Recall that aspect is a grammatical category by which a phenomenon is expressed as a whole or not. The former will be perfective aspect and the latter, imperfective aspect. Within Kusanagi's framework, perfective aspect can be illustrated as a structure where the focus is over the whole phenomenon, while imperfective aspect as a structure where the focus is on a point inside the phenomenon. (3a) and (3b) illustrate perfective aspect and (3c) imperfective aspect. The difference between perfectivity and imperfectivity is applicable only to dynamic phenomena.

As noted above, stative phenomena do not include internal change, and thus are always longer than the focus. This is illustrated in (4).

(4) Stative aspect



Thus, there can only be one aspect in relation to stative phenomena, called stative aspect.



In sum, there are three aspectual distinctions, i.e. perfective aspect, imperfective aspect and stative aspect.

In Japanese, stative aspect manifests itself as three types; mere state, result and experience (Lee 1990). Mere state refers to the static situations of entities, where no dynamic phenomenon is recognized as having happened before the perception of the mere state. For example, in the sentence (5a), *niteiru* (the *-teiru* form of *niru* 'resemble') merely expresses the eye shape that he and his mother share. It does not involve any change; that is to say, *niteiru* does not presuppose any change in the shape of his eyes from differing to resembling his mother's.

(5) a. Mere state

Kare no me wa haha to ni-teiru.  
he GEN eye TOP mother with resemble-state

His eyes resemble those of his mother's.

b. Result

Doa ga sakki kara ai-teiru.  
door SUB sometime from be open-result

The door was opened some time ago.

c. Experience

Kare wa go-nen mae Fuji-san ni nobot-teiru.  
he TOP five-years ago Mount Fuji LOC climb-experience



He climbed Mount Fuji five years ago.

Result signifies that the result of a dynamic phenomenon is still observable. As shown in (5b), *aiteiru* (the *-teiru* form of *aku* 'open') indicates the situation where the door is open as the result of someone having opened it. Experience refers to a dynamic phenomenon realised as a memory. In (5c), climbing Mount Fuji five years ago is realised as experience not as result. Lee points out that both result and experience presuppose a phenomenon occurring before, but what differentiates experience and result is whether the speaker pays attention more to the dynamic phenomenon itself (experience)<sup>1</sup> or to a situation remaining as a result of its occurrence (result).

Down at the linguistic expression level we deal with the linguistic forms. The remainder of this chapter investigates and compares Japanese and English grammatical forms which express each aspect.

## 3.2 Stative Aspect

### 3.2.1 Japanese

As already mentioned, stative aspect is expressed by means of an adjective,

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<sup>1</sup>Lee names experience the 'existence of event in the past'.

copula or stative verb in both Japanese and English. The following examples illustrate stative aspect in Japanese. They all indicate mere states of entities. In (6a) *subarashii* is an I-adjective which describes the country as wonderful, *kinodokuda* in (6b) is a Na-adjective which means 'poor'<sup>2</sup>. (6c) contains a noun *shumi* 'taste' plus a copula *-da*.

- (6) a. Soo! Inaka wa subarashii! Shinsenna kuuki... [NH:438]  
 so country TOP wonderful fresh air  
 Yes! The country is wonderful! (It has) fresh air...
- b. ..Daiichi kono sakana tachi ni kinodokuda. [US:272]  
 first this fish PLU to poor  
 ..First of all I feel sorry for these fish.
- c. Warui shumi da. [US:272]  
 bad taste COP  
 That's a bad taste.
- d. Yuki no Barukan Sammyaku o koeru tame no  
 snow GEN Balkan mountain range ACC cross to GEN  
 jumbi mo i-ru. [SA:246]  
 preparation too need

<sup>2</sup>Japanese adjectives are divided into two types according to their ending in a noun-modifier form. One is I-adjectives which end in -i, e.g. *subarashii* 'wonderful', *ookii* 'big', and the other is Na-adjectives which end in -na, e.g. *shizukana* 'quiet', *kireina* 'clean'.

(We) need some preparation to cross the snowy Mt. Balkan.

- e. Tonari ni rotem-buro ga a-ru... [KM:23]  
next LOC open-air-bath SUB be

There is an open-air bath next door.

- f. Ikiteiru chichi no sugata o jibun no me de miru  
alive father GEN figure ACC self GEN eye with see

koto ga deki-ta kara. [OYH:17]  
thing SUB can-past because

Because I could see the living figure of my father with my own eyes (in films).

The underlined parts in (6d) - (6h) are stative verbs. In the case of stative verbs such as *iru* 'need', *iru/aru* 'be', and *dekiru* 'can do', the *-ru* and *-ta* forms are used to indicate stative aspect. The difference in *-ru* and *-ta* is tense<sup>3</sup>: the former marks non-past tense and the latter past tense. We employ *-ru* as a representative aspectual form for *-ru* and *-ta*.

Stative aspect can also be expressed by a form other than the *-ru* form.

Look at the following examples.

- (7) a. Furui jiin no kin-iro no sentoo ga aozora  
old temple GEN gold-color GEN tower SUB blue sky  
o yubisasu yooni sobie-teiru. [SA:237]  
ACC point to as if stand tall-state

---

<sup>3</sup>See Kusanagi (1983) for detailed discussion of tense in Japanese.

The golden tower rises as if it points to the blue sky.

- b. Akamboo no kuse ni iyani totonotta takai  
baby GEN though awfully good looking long

hanasuji o shi-teita.

[K:178]

nose ACC have-state-past

Although he was still just a baby, he had an awfully long and good looking nose.

(7a) and (7b) include the *-teiru* form, and they express stative aspect such as the location and appearance of entities. It should be noted that both *sobieru* 'stand tall' and *-o suru* 'have (appearance)' cannot be used on their own, i.e. in the *-ru* form, but are always accompanied by *-teiru*, and always express stative aspect. Like *-ru* and *-ta*, *-teiru* and *-teita* are different from each other only in terms of tense: *-teiru* expresses non-past tense and *-teita* past tense. Here the *-teiru* form is made a representative for them.

The following example expresses stative aspect of a result of a change.

- (8) Shinshitu no doa ga aite beddosaido no rampu ga  
bed room GEN door SUB open bed side GEN lamp SUB

tsui-teite,....

[NM1:229]

turn on-stative-te

The bedroom door was open and the lamp nearby the bed was on, ...

*Tsuku* 'turn on' is a dynamic verb which indicates a change of state from the

lamp being out to it being on. Once the lamp is on, it expresses the state of it being on.

Notice that the verb *tsuku* is a dynamic verb. Further, the verbs *sobieru* and *niru* in (7), which are the base forms of *sobieteiru* and *niteiru* respectively, are also dynamic verbs. Thus, the examples in (7) and (8) above suggest that not only stative verbs but also dynamic verbs may express the stative aspect by using the *-teiru* form.

As we have seen in 3.1.1, the *-teiru* form also supplies another kind of stative aspect, experience, which is similar to result in that both refer to a past event/action, but is different in that result refers to the remaining situation after the event/action. Look at (9a) for example:

- (9) a. Ore wa, Rokugatsu Tsuitachi kara hajimaru  
 I TOP June the first from begin  
 ren-dora no shuzai de, ki-teru n da.  
 serial drama GEN material gathering PUR come-result EP COP  
 [KM:188]

I came here to gather materials for the serial drama which commences on the first of June.

- b. "Boku tachi to onaji Yunohama Onsen ni ki-teiru...  
 I PLU with same Y. hot spring DIR come-experience  
 [KM:62]

"(they) have come to the same Yunohama Onsen as we have...



In (9a) Oyama, a screenwriter, explains to detectives his reason for having come to a certain place. Thus, Oyama is still there and *kiteru* signifies the result of coming. On the other hand, *kiteiru* in (9b) indicates the experience of coming to Yunohama Onsen. That is, the speaker who has come to Yunohama Onsen says that a honeymoon couple whom he saw in a train also came there some time ago. As *kiteiru* is realised as an experience not as a result, the present situation and whether or not the honeymoon couple are still in Yunohama Onsen is not relevant.

To summarize, stative aspect manifests itself as the *-ru* and *-teiru* forms in Japanese: stative verbs express stative aspect in the *-ru* form, and dynamic verbs do so in the *-teiru* form.

### 3.2.2 English

We now consider what forms express stative aspect in English. Look at the sentences in (10). (10a) and (10b) contain a copula, i.e. *is* and *were*, plus an adjective, i.e. *circumspect* and *correct*. (10c) has a copula *are* plus a noun, (10d) includes existential *there* plus a copula in a shortened form of *is*, i.e. *'s*.

- (10) a. He is circumspect, refusing to say anything about the story... [BMC:vii]
- b. ... they were correct in their assessment. [BMC:ix]

- c. 'Thank you. You are a good watcher.' [TCA:48]
- d. There's a gas meter for pennies. [TCA:41]
- e. '...I have some papers people are looking for...' [TCA:54]
- f. He lives in Florida now. [BMC:vii]
- g. He liked this country and felt unpressed, stopping now and then to make notes about interesting possibilities... [BMC:3]

*Have* in (10e), *live* in (10f), and *liked* in (10g) are stative verbs. All three of the expressions in (10e), (10f) and (10g) show mere state: *have* shows stative aspect of ownership; *lives* indicates residence; and *liked* expresses preference.

Copula and existential *be* have variants such as *am*, *is*, and *are* depending on the person of the subject, and their past forms are *was* for *a m* and *is*, and *were* for *are*. There are also shortened forms including 's for *is*, 'm' for *am*, and 're for *are*. Hereafter *be*, the base is used as a representative aspectual form for all of them. In the same way *have* is the base form of *has* and *had*, *lives* in (10f) contains a suffix -s for the third person subject, *he*, and *liked* in (10g) is the past tense of *like*. The English regular verbs take -ed as a past tense suffix, and other verbs have irregular past forms. Stative verbs express stative aspect by either the base (zero- marked form expressed Ø hereafter) or the -ed form and by special past forms in the case of irregular verbs (like *have* > *had*). These differ in tense; the former expresses non-past tense, and the latter shows past tense. Henceforth, Ø is used as a

representative form.

Above, we have seen that  $\emptyset$  is used to express stative aspect in English. Furthermore, English has another form for this aspect.

- (11) a. My head aches.  
b. My head is aching.

In the above pair both show the stative aspect of hurting, i.e. mere state. *Hurts* in (11a) consists of the base form of a stative verb suffixed by the third person subject *-s*, while *is hurting* in (11b) is the *be -ing* form. As illustrated, in English the *be -ing* form is utilized in order to express stative aspect, in addition to the  $\emptyset$  form.

To conclude, in English, both the  $\emptyset$  form and the *be -ing* form are used to signal stative aspect. The examples so far, all involve mere state. However, it is not the case that stative aspect always manifests itself as mere state in English. Stative aspect with *be -ing* indicates the result of an action, as in the following example.

- (12) When he pulled into the yard, a woman was sitting on the front porch.  
It looked cool there, and she was drinking something that looked even cooler. [BMC:15]

*Was sitting* in (12) shows the situation of a woman already in the sitting state, as a result of the action of sitting, and now drinking something cool. In

addition to this, 'be sitting' can also express dynamic imperfective aspect, i.e. the process of sitting - slouching one's body toward the sitting position. We will consider this case in 3.4.

### 3.3 Dynamic Perfective Aspect

#### 3.3.1 Japanese

We first look at some examples of dynamic perfective aspect in Japanese.

- (13) a. Kaishain wa retsu ni modori, kawatte  
 company worker TOP line LOC return in turn-te  
 uyoku ga ippo susumi de-ru. [NH:401]  
 right-winger SUB one-step proceed go out-perfective

The company worker returns to the back line and in turn a right-winger steps forward.

- b. Ryoo no ichi-nichi wa soogonna kokki  
 dormitory GEN one-day TOP solemn national flag  
 keiyoo to tomoni hajima-ru. [NM1:24]  
 raising with together begin-perfective

The day in the dormitory begins with a solemn raising of the national flag.

- c. Urashima wa sekimenshite, zoori o nuida. [US:271]  
 U. TOP blush-te sandals ACC take off-perfective

Urashima blushed, (and) took off his sandals.

- d. Mise no naka ni hairi-nagara boku wa kiita.  
shop GEN inside LOC enter-with I TOP ask-past-perfective  
[AAS:389]

I asked (him) as I was entering a shop.

*Susumideru*, *hajimaru*, *nuida*, and *kiita* are all dynamic verbs, and express dynamic perfective aspect. Each phenomenon in the above examples is realised as a whole including the beginning point and the end point. In short, in Japanese dynamic perfective aspect is expressed by dynamic verbs with the *-ru* form, i.e. *-ru* and *-ta*.

### 3.3.2 English

Let us now consider English. (14) displays dynamic perfective aspect.

- (14) a. They show me documents and magazine clippings and a set of journals written by their mother Francesca. [BMC:viii]
- b. The civil war broke out exactly three days later. [TCA:13]

In the above, *show*, and *broke* are dynamic verbs. Like stative verbs these verbs in the  $\emptyset$  and the *-ed* forms (and special past forms in the case of irregular



verbs, e.g. *break* > *broke*), express dynamic perfective aspect as the speakers perceive phenomena as a whole. These examples thus lead us to the conclusion that in English, the  $\emptyset$  form, i.e. the base form, is the form to signal dynamic imperfective aspect.

### 3.4 Dynamic Imperfective Aspect

#### 3.4.1 Japanese

As noted earlier, when the focus of the speaker is smaller than a whole dynamic phenomenon, aspect is realised as dynamic imperfective. (15) below provides some examples of dynamic imperfective aspect in Japanese.

- (15) a. Yakuza no chimpira fuu no koshirae no gakusei  
 gang GEN hooligan style GEN appearance GEN student  
 ga jingi o kit-teiru. [NH:439]  
 SUB formal greeting ACC make-imperfective

A student who looks like a hooligan from a gang is making a gang-style formal greeting.

- b. Makkuro-ni yaketa kao ni shiroi ha o  
 deep black sunburnt face on white teeth ACC  
 mukidashite warat-teiru. [SA:235]  
 expose-te laugh-imperfective

He is laughing with his white teeth showing on a sunburnt face.

- c. Apaato ni kaeru to, kare ga kaidan no tokoro de  
 flat LOC return when he SUB steps GEN place LOC  
 koshi o oroshite mat-teta. [SA:238]  
 hips ACC put down-te wait-imperfective-past

When I came back to my flat, he was waiting for me sitting on the steps.

- d. Icchoo hodo saki de ototoo ga te o  
 one-block about ahead LOC younger brother SUB hand ACC  
fut-teita. [AAS:388]  
 wave-imperfective-past

My younger brother was waving to me about one block ahead.

In all the above examples the underlined verb phrases display dynamic imperfective aspect in which the stated dynamic phenomena have a certain duration of time and the focus is on a point inside the period. Each scene expressed by *-teiru* is realised as a part cut inside the entire phenomenon. Thus, what is observed is a situation where the action/event is in progress. In Japanese dynamic imperfective aspect takes the *-teiru* form.

### 3.4.2 English

The following examples express imperfective aspect in English.

- |      |    |                                                                                                                  |           |
|------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| (16) | a. | He's <u>starin'</u> at his bottle of beer, but..                                                                 | [BMC:169] |
|      | b. | <u>Are</u> my remarks <u>annoying</u> you?                                                                       | [TOM:135] |
|      | c. | Else <u>was sweeping</u> the passage outside the room.                                                           | [TCA:48]  |
|      | d. | He <u>was rearranging</u> canvas bags and tripods, a<br>Thermos bottle and paper sacks.                          | [BMC:30]  |
|      | e. | You <u>were telling</u> me of the problems encountered by<br>Torrijos over the ratification of the Canal Treaty. | [TOM:101] |

The underlined verb phrases in the above examples indicate that the phenomena are still in progress. Accordingly we reach the conclusion that dynamic imperfective aspect in English is displayed by the *be -ing* form.

### 3.5 Results

So far, we have investigated what forms are used for each aspect in Japanese and English. The table in (16) summarises the results of the investigation discussed above.

(16) Aspect and form

Aspect	Japanese	English
dynamic-perfective aspect	<i>-ru</i>	Ø
dynamic-imperfective aspect	<i>-teiru</i>	<i>be -ing</i>
stative aspect	<i>-ru</i> <i>-teiru</i>	Ø <i>be -ing</i>

### 3.5.1 Dynamic aspect

Both the Japanese *-ru* form and the English Ø form are used to express dynamic perfective aspect. The Japanese *-teiru* form and the English *be -ing* indicate dynamic imperfective aspect. (17a) shows dynamic perfective aspect and (17b) imperfective aspect respectively.

- (17) a. Tomodachi ni tegami o kai-ta.  
friend DIR letter ACC write-perfective-past  
I wrote a letter to a friend of mine.
- b. Ima tomodachi ni tegami o kai-teiru.  
now write-imperfective  
Now I am writing a letter to a friend of mine.

In this regard, the Japanese *-ru* and *-teiru* forms are analyzed as equivalent to the English Ø and *be -ing* forms, respectively.

### 3.5.2 Stative aspect

In order to express the stative aspect, Japanese uses the *-ru* form and English uses the  $\emptyset$  form as in (18a). In addition, (18b) shows that the *-teiru* and *be -ing* forms can also be used.

- (18) a. Shachoo wa kaigi-shitsu ni i-ru.  
president TOP meeting-room LOC be-stative

The president is in the meeting room.

- b. Sono hito wa kooen no isu ni suwat-teiru.  
that person TOP park GEN chair LOC sit-stative

That person is sitting on a chair in the park.

Therefore, stative aspect also seems to support the equivalence of  $-ru \leftrightarrow \emptyset$  and  $-teiru \leftrightarrow be -ing$ . However, the forms for stative aspect, in fact, have a more complex relationship. That is, the *-teiru* form can be viewed as identical to the  $\emptyset$  form, in some cases. To be more explicit, let us take a closer look at the aspectual forms for stative aspect.

As noted before, stative aspect manifests itself specifically as mere state, result and experience in Japanese, whereas it appears as mere state and result in English. (19) below shows that the Japanese *-ru* form is used for expressing mere state, while the *-teiru* form can be used for three situations, i.e. mere state, result, and experience. In English, the  $\emptyset$  form indicates mere state, and the *be -ing* form can indicate either mere state or result.



(20) Stative aspect and form

Stative aspect	Japanese	English
mere state	<i>-ru</i> <i>-teiru</i>	$\emptyset$ <i>be -ing</i>
result	<i>-teiru</i>	<i>be -ing</i>
experience	<i>-teiru</i>	-

The *-teiru* form for mere state corresponds to both the  $\emptyset$  and *be -ing* forms. In (19b) we have looked at an example of *-teiru* corresponding to *be -ing*. As an example of *-teiru* corresponding to  $\emptyset$ , consider the following sentences.

- (21) Kodomo no koro no koto o yoku oboeteiru.  
child GEN time GEN thing ACC well remember-stative

I remember well things about my childhood.

The underlined parts, *oboeteiru* and 'remember' refer to the state of remembering. While Japanese contains the *-teiru* form, in English the  $\emptyset$  form is used.

### 3.5.3 Experience

Another point that needs to be emphasized is that English lacks an aspectual

expression for experience. (21) repeats some examples of experience.

- (21) a. Kinoo tomodachi ni tegami o kai-teiru.  
yesterday friend to letter ACC write-experience

(lit) I wrote a letter to a friend of mine.

- b. Go-nen mae ni kekkonshi-teiru.  
five-year ago in get married-experience

(lit) I got married five years ago.

The English *wrote*, for example, could be treated as equivalent to the Japanese *kaiteiru* in (21a). However, it should be noted that these two are grammatically different from each other. The English *wrote* indicates perfective aspect, and thus should be analyzed as different from *kaiteiru*, which indicates experience of stative aspect. Moreover, *-teiru* indicates the present tense, while *wrote* is the past tense form. Again, the relation between them is not grammatical but rather translational or pragmatic.

### 3.6 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter we have seen that there are three aspectual distinctions: stative, dynamic perfective, and dynamic imperfective aspects.

In Japanese stative aspect manifests itself as three types: mere state, result and experience, while English lacks experience. Mere state refers to the

static situations of entities, where no dynamic phenomenon is recognized as having happened before the perception of the mere state. Result signifies that the result of a dynamic phenomenon is still observable. Experience indicates a dynamic phenomenon in the past realised as a memory.

As linguistic forms to express stative and perfective aspects, Japanese uses the *-ru* form and English the  $\emptyset$  form. In order to indicate stative and imperfective aspects, the Japanese *-teiru* and English *be -ing* forms are utilized.

In perfective aspect the equivalence of  $-ru \leftrightarrow \emptyset$  is observed, and imperfective aspect shows the equivalence of  $-teiru \leftrightarrow be -ing$ . However, *-teiru* does not always have the same value as *be -ing*. In some cases *-teiru* is equivalent to English  $\emptyset$ . (22) illustrates each case, (22a) is the former, and (b) the latter.

- (22) a. Ima ringo o tabe-teiru.  
now apple ACC eat-imperfective

I am eating an apple now.  
eat-imperfective

- b. Sono hito ni kyonen at-teiru.  
that person with last year meet-stative

I met the person last year.  
meet-perfective-past

As suggested by these examples, the equivalence of *-teiru* with English forms

is determined by a verb type to which an aspectual form is attached. Therefore, investigation at the verb level is necessary in addition to analysis at the formal level. This investigation will be done in the following chapter.

## 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of aspect at the verb level. Section 4.1 sets out the theoretical considerations; we will first look at Kusanagi's Japanese verb categorization which categorizes verbs into six classes: State verbs, Change verbs, Process verbs, Process-Change verbs, Potential verbs and Durative verbs (Kusanagi 1983). Lee & Hirakawa's device for ensuring the proper interpretation of the -teba form from amongst four possible interpretations will also be explained. In the following section, 4.2, verb classes will be analyzed in Japanese and English. Section 4.3 gives the results of the analysis.

## 4.1 Theoretical Considerations

### 4.1.1 Kusanagi's categorization

Kusanagi (1983) classifies Japanese verbs into six groups depending on what aspect verbs show in what form.

## Chapter 4    Contrastive Study (2): Verb Categorization

### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of aspect at the verb level. Section 4.1 sets out the theoretical considerations; we will first look at Kusanagi's Japanese verb categorization which categorizes verbs into six classes: Stative verbs, Change verbs, Process verbs, Process-Change verbs, Punctual verbs and Durative verbs (Kusanagi 1983). Lee & Hirakawa's device for ensuring the proper interpretation of the *-teiru* form from amongst four possible interpretations will also be explained. In the following section, 4.2, verb classes will be analyzed in Japanese and English. Section 4.3 gives the results of the analysis.

### 4.1 Theoretical Considerations

#### 4.1.1 Kusanagi's categorization

Kusanagi (1983) classifies Japanese verbs into six groups depending on what aspect verbs show in what forms.



- 1 Stative verbs: Verbs which do not have the *-teiru* form and show the stative aspect only
- 2 Change verbs: Verbs whose *-teiru* form shows the stative aspect
- 3 Process verbs: Verbs whose *-teiru* form shows the imperfective aspect
- 4 Process-Change verbs: Verbs whose *-teiru* form shows the imperfective or stative aspect depending on whether subject is [ $\pm$ active]
- 5 Punctual verbs: Verbs whose *-teiru* form usually shows the stative aspect and sometimes the imperfective aspect
- 6 Durative verbs: Verbs whose *-teiru* form usually shows the imperfective aspect and occasionally the stative aspect

For the purpose of our Japanese and English contrastive analysis, the form *be -ing* is used as a criterion for categorization of English verbs. Stative verbs in English, for example, are those which do not have the *be -ing* form and show stative aspect only.

#### 4.1.2 Lee & Hirakawa's device for interpreting the *-teiru* form

There are four possible ways in which to interpret *-teiru*: progress of action/event (dynamic imperfective aspect), mere state (stative aspect), result (stative aspect), and experience (stative aspect). Lee & Hirakawa (1990) shows that these four can be distinguished by examining verbs using the procedure

below.

(2) Lee & Hirakawa's device

<div>-teiru is exchangeable with -ta</div>	yes →	<div>the order is always -ta → -teiru</div>	yes →	<div>can accompany kara zutto 'ever since'</div>
↓no		↓no		↓yes   ↓no
[mere state]		[progress]		[result] [experience]

The criterion for mere state reflects the fact that the mere state does not presuppose the action/event by which a given static situation is created.

Taking the verb phrase *sobieteiru* 'stand tall' in (3a) as an example, it is not treated as expressing a result of *sobieru* in Japanese, as evidenced by the ungrammatical phrase *sobieta* in (3b)<sup>1</sup>. If the situation referred to by *sobieteiru* was a result of *sobieru*, we would expect *sobieta* to be found in Japanese.

(3) Stative aspect (Mere state)

- a.      Too    ga    sobie-teiru.  
         tower SUB stand-mere state  
                         tall

<sup>1</sup>The asterisk indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical.

The tower stands tall.

- b. \*Too ga sobie-ta.  
stand tall-past

\*The tower stood tall.

In order to express the situation which refers to the result of building something tall, we should choose another expression such as *taterareteiru* 'be built', etc. In this case the phrase can be replaced with *taterareta* 'was built'.

Next, let us consider the second criterion, 'the order is always *-ta* → *-teiru*'. Recall that *-ta* is the past form in Japanese. This criterion indicates that the result and experience always presuppose a certain event which occurred in the past. In result the speaker recognizes the situation as a result of the event; for example, in (4), *tsuiteiru* 'being on' indicates a situation that is a result of *tsuita*, 'turned on', while the event itself becomes the content of the experience as in (5). Thus in both result and experience *-teiru* → *-ta* is impossible.

(4) Stative aspect (Result)

Dentoo ga san-jikan mae **kara zutto** tsui-teiru.  
lamp SUB three-hours ago since ever be on-result

The lamp has been on for three hours.

(5) Stative aspect (Experience)

- a. Kare wa kyonen daigaku o sotsugyooshi-teiru.  
he TOP last year university ACC graduate-experience

He graduated from the university last year.

- b. \*Kare wa kyonen **kara zutto** daigaku o sotsugyooshi-teiru.  
since ever

\*He has been graduating from the university since last year.

In order to distinguish result from experience, one should ask whether or not **kara zutto** 'ever since' can accompany the verb; only result can appear in a sentence with **kara zutto**. Result indicates the remaining result of a past action/event, and the time point when the action/event happened is located in front of **kara zutto**. On the other hand, experience is clearly indicated when temporal or frequency adverbials such as **go-nen mae** 'five years ago', **kyonen** 'last year', **ni-do** 'twice' occur with the verb. Therefore, in (6b) the sentences sound odd in both Japanese and English as graduating from a university does not last for years. Experience, thus, cannot accommodate **kara zutto** 'ever since'.

On the contrary, progress (dynamic imperfective aspect) in principle refers to a situation where an event has not completed and is still in progress.

In other words, progress does not necessarily presuppose a certain event completed in the past at the time of the speech moment. When the event

finishes, it can be expressed as a past event by *-ta*, the past tense form. Thus, in (6) the order *nagareteiru* → *nagareta* is possible.

(6) Imperfective aspect (Progress)

Mizu ga <u>nagare-teiru</u> .	→	Mizu ga <u>nagare-ta</u> .
water SUB flow-imperfective		flow-past
The water <u>is flowing</u> .	→	The water <u>flowed</u> .

## 4.2 Observation

### 4.2.1 Stative verbs

#### 4.2.1.1 Japanese

As noted before, Stative verbs are those which never take *-teiru* and express stative aspect. The verbs in (7) belong to this class.

(7) a. Verbs of existence

*iru* 'be', *aru* 'be/have'

b. Verbs of potentiality & necessity

*-koto ga dekiru* 'can', *-eru* 'can', *iru* 'need'

The verbs in (7a) express the existence of certain entities, while the verbs in



(7b) can be grouped as verbs of potentiality & necessity. English uses auxiliary verbs or other constructions to express potentiality, for example, 'can', 'be able to', etc. They are exemplified in (8).

(8) a. *iru* 'be'

Sono naka ni wa shushoo mo iru, daijin mo i-ru,...  
 that inside LOC TOP Prime Minister too be minister too be  
 [NH:446]

Inside that there are also Prime Minister, ministers,...

b. *-eru* 'can'

Demo, ototoo no yooni sure-ba nantoka mote-ru.  
 but younger GEN like do-if anyhow hold-can  
 brother [AAS:392]

However, if you do as my brother does, you can hold it anyhow.

#### 4.2.1.2 English

Leech (1973:19-20) comments on verbs which do not take *be -ing* as follows:

Most difficulties over the use of the Progressive Aspect with classes of verbs which are NORMALLY INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PROGRESSIVE. The most important of these verbs is the verbs *to be*: it is possible to say *He is ill* (unrestrictive present) but not normally *\*He is being ill*, even though the illness referred to in this sentence is presumably a temporary rather than permanent indisposition. Verbs not combining with the Progressive can be placed in certain rough semantic categories.

We will follow Leech concerning verbs which do not take *be -ing* regarding

them as Stative verbs. English verbs included as Stative verbs are listed in (9).

They do not take *be -ing*, and show stative aspect.

(9) a. Verbs of existence

*am, are, is, was, were*

b. Verbs of subsistence & relation

*live* (life & residence), *have, own, include, involve, contain, depend on*, etc.

c. Verbs of consumption

*take* (time), *cost* (money), *spend* (time/money), *remain*, etc.

d. Verbs of inert cognition

*feel, wish, expect, hope, believe, think, understand, know, doubt, want, love, like, respect, hate, rely on, need*, etc.

Verbs in (9a) refer to the existence of entities, the verbs in (9b) express subsistence & relationship. The verbs grouped in (9c) denote consumption of time and money. Verbs in (9d) express mental feelings and attitudes.

Examples of the use of these verbs are given in (10).

(10) a. *be* (exist)

There is a lady waiting for me upstairs. [TCA:24]

b. *take*

It takes such a short time to make appalling changes. [TCA:94]

c. *like*

He likes tarts too, you see. [TCA:17]

As noted above, the verbs in (9) usually do not take the *be -ing* form. However, when they convey temporariness as shown below in (11), they do take it (Leech 1973:16). As this is not a usual usage, we will regard it as an exception.

(11) *enjoy*

I am enjoying the seaside. (Leech p.16)

Leech rephrases (11) to *I am enjoying this particular holiday* which emphasizes temporariness more.

## 4.2.2 Change verbs

### 4.2.2.1 Japanese

Verbs other than Stative verbs are lexically dynamic. Some Japanese verbs always express the stative aspect when accompanied by the *-teiru* form. They belong to Change verbs. The verbs in (12) are some examples of such verbs.

(12) a. Verbs of position

*tonaria u* 'be next to', *rinritsusuru* 'stand crowdedly', *sobieru* 'stand tall', *mensuru* 'face', etc.

b. Verbs of property

*niru* 'resemble', *(-o) suru* 'have (looks, e.g. have blue eyes)', *bakageru* 'be silly', *arifureru* 'be common', *sugureru* 'be superior', *chigau* 'be different', etc.

Verbs in (12a) refer to the positions of entities, and verbs in (12b) describe entities.

(13) a. *rinritsusuru* 'stand crowdedly'

..juusuu too no ofisu biru ya hoteru ga  
over ten block GEN office building and hotel SUB

rinritsushi-teiru.  
stand crowdedly-stative

[IRM:8]

...more than ten blocks of office buildings and hotels stand crowdedly.

b. *bakageru* 'be silly'

Shiritsu Toshokan no chika ni konna  
municipal library GEN underground LOC like this

koodai-na meiro ga aru nante zettai-ni bakage-teiru.  
vast maze SUB be that at all be silly-stative

[TK:206-7]

It is foolish that there is such a vast maze in the underground floor in a municipal library.

Note that these verbs are grouped as Stative verbs in Kindaichi (1950) because they always appear in the *-teiru* form.

The verbs listed in (14) below are also Change verbs, i.e. their *-teiru* form expresses stative aspect only. They can be used on their own, or in the *-ru* form.

(14) c. Verbs of subsistence & relation

*sumu* 'live', *motsu* 'have', *fukumu* 'include', *ikiru* 'live', *shozokusuru* 'belong to', *tsutomeru* 'work at', *tayoru* 'depend on', *komu* 'be crowded', etc.

d. Verbs of bodily sensation

*tsukareru* 'be tired', (*onaka ga*) *suku* 'get hungry', etc.

e. Verbs of inert cognition

*shiru* 'know', *wakaru/rikaisuru* 'understand', *wasureru* 'forget', *omou* 'think', *shinjiru* 'believe', *kitaisuru* 'expect', *nozomu* 'wish', *utagau* 'doubt', *aisuru* 'love', *sonkeisuru* 'respect', etc.

f. Verbs of momentary action

*shinu* 'die', *hairu* 'enter', *hajimeru* 'start', *yoru* 'drop in', *tsuku*



'arrive', *ochiru* 'drop', *tomaru* 'stop', *kekonsuru* 'get married',  
*kimaru* 'be decided', *tenihairu* 'get', etc.

g. Verbs of consumption

*kakaru* 'take time/cost money', *kakeru* 'spend', *nokoru* 'remain'

h. Transitional movement verbs

*iku* 'go', *kuru* 'come', *kaeru* 'return', etc.

We will label the verbs in (14c) Verbs of subsistence and relation. Verbs in (14d) refer to states of our body. They are labeled as Verbs of bodily sensation.

What is common of the verbs in (14e) is that they refer to inert cognitive effects, thus they are labeled as Verbs of inert cognition. The verbs in (14f) are labeled as Verbs of momentary action since these actions take place in a moment. Verbs in (14g) are concerned with the consumption of time, money, etc. Verbs in (14h) refer to transitional movements which take some duration. Examples are given below.

(15) a. *tsukareru* 'be tired'

Ame ni utareta saru no yooni tsukare-teiru no.  
rain by hit-PASS monkey GEN like be tired-stative FP  
[NM1:110]

I am tired like a monkey wet in the rain.

b. *shiru* 'know'

Shimbun de mita kara shit-teimasu.  
newspaper in watch-past because know-stative

[MH:103]

I know, because I saw it in a newspaper.

c. *shinu* 'die'

Boofuurin de Kinoshita Takeshi ga shin-deiru.  
windbreak LOC K. T. SUB die-stative

[KM:181]

Kinoshita Takeshi is dead in a windbreak.

d. *nokoru* 'remain'

Nisen-en sikkuri nokot-teru.  
2000 Yen wholly remain-stative

[AAS:390]

A whole two thousand yen remains.

The *-teiru* form of these verbs can be said to show the result of an event. This is analyzed by the procedure given in 4.1.2. First of all, *-teiru* is replaceable with *-ta*, past tense marker as the events/actions took place in the past. For example, (15c) can be rephrased as in (16):

- (16) Boofuurin de Kinoshita Takeshi ga shin-da.  
die-ta (past)

Kinoshita Takeshi died in a windbreak.

Furthermore, the order is always *shinda* 'died' → *shindeiru* 'be dead' not *shindeiru* 'be dead' → *shinda* 'died', thus dynamic imperfective aspect is not indicated, and *shindeiru* can coexist with **kara zutto** 'ever since' and the past temporal expression, e.g. **ototoi** 'the day before yesterday'. Thus *shindeiru* shows result not experience.

*Iku* 'go' and *kuru* 'come' usually express experience with *-teiru* and can be rewritten as *itta/kita koto ga aru* 'have the experience of going/coming'. For example, (17) is rephrased to (18):

(17) *iku* 'go'

...hitori-de, chanto dentoo o tsukete sukoshi  
by oneself well lamp ACC turn on-te a little

hanareta benjo e it-teita. [K:202]  
distant toilet DIR go-stative-past

..soon (the boy) went to a toilet a little away from (his room) with a lamp on by himself.

(18) ...hitoride, chanto dentoo o tsukete sukoshi  
hanareta benjo e it-ta koto ga aru.  
go-past experience SUB have

..(the boy) has an experience of going to a toilet a little away from (his room) with a lamp on by himself.

On the other hand, in the *-teiru* form these verbs may indicate the result of having gone/come and still being there as the context implies. In that case

the verb is most likely to accompany a temporal adverb such as **ima** 'now' as in (19) below.

- (19) Kare wa ima Oosutoraria ni ki-teiru.  
he TOP now Australia to come-stative (result)  
(lit) He is now in Australia.

#### 4.2.2.2 English

The English Change verbs include the verbs in (20).

- (20) Verbs of bodily sensation  
*feel, ache, hurt, itch, tingle, etc.*

They all denote bodily sensation and are unique in the sense that they express the same aspect - stative aspect in both  $\emptyset$  and *be -ing* forms.

- (21) *feel*
- |    |                                                 |          |
|----|-------------------------------------------------|----------|
| a. | Each year I <u>feel</u> different.              | [TOM:18] |
| b. | He <u>felt</u> a little sick with apprehension. | [TCA:24] |
| c. | D. <u>felt</u> tired...                         | [TCA:15] |
| d. | His nerves <u>felt</u> better now.              | [TCA:23] |

The above examples can be rephrased as in (22) and still express the same aspect, stative aspect.

- (22) a. Each year I am feeling different.  
b. He was feeling a little sick with apprehension.  
c. D. was feeling tired...  
d. His nerves were feeling better now.

### 4.2.3 Process verbs

#### 4.2.3.1 Japanese

Verbs which express the imperfective aspect when -teiru is attached are Process verbs, and they are shown in (23).

(23) Verbs of volitional subject

*nagameru* 'watch', *yorokobu* 'be glad', *samayou* 'wander', *uyouyosuru* 'swarm', etc.

These verbs imply volitional beings as the subject.

(24) *nagameru* 'watch'

Otoko wa sono sama o zutto nagame-teita nochi...  
man TOP that look ACC long watch-imperfective after

[K:199]



After the man was watching the look for a long time...

In imperfective aspect, after the phenomenon finishes, it is recognized as a simple past phenomenon. To check this, we will apply the procedure in 4.1.2 to (25):

1) *-teiru* can be replaced with *-ta*, thus *nagameteiru* does not express mere state, 2) the order of *nagameta* 'watched' → *nagameteiru* 'is watching' and that of *nagameteiru* → *nagameta* are possible, which indicates imperfective aspect.

#### 4.2.3.2 English

Examples of English Process verbs, which express imperfective aspect with *be -ing* are given in (26). All verbs in (26a) indicate volitional activities of human beings, and verbs in (26b) refer to transitional movements which last some time.

(26) a. Verbs of human activity

*eat, drink, write, read, speak, watch, drive, put on, study, work, wander, swarm, do (something), make, etc.*

b. Verbs of transitional movement

*return, go, come, etc.*

- c. Verbs of quantitative/qualitative change

*increase, decrease, change, etc.*

- d. Verbs of momentary action

*arrive, leave, die, drop, enter, get, start, stop, drop in, etc.*

Verbs in (26c) show quantitative or qualitative change of subjects. Verbs in (26d) point to momentary actions since actions such as arriving, leaving, dying, dropping, etc. finish instantly. Some examples are given below.

- (27) a. *drink*

It looked cool there, and she was drinking something that  
looked even cooler. [BMC:15]

- b. *come (up)*

A moon nearly full was coming up the eastern sky... [BMC:58]

- c. *start*

A THIRD (grave digger)<sup>2</sup> is starting up a noisy small bulldozer.[S:60]

---

<sup>2</sup> (grave digger) is added by myself.

#### 4.2.4 Process-Change verbs

##### 4.2.4.1 Japanese

The next verb group includes those which express either imperfective or stative aspect with *-teiru* in Japanese. The verbs usually represent the ongoing activities of active subjects with *-teiru*; that is, they usually indicate imperfective aspect. When their *-teiru* form is used with static subjects which have no volition to move, the verbs indicate stative aspect. Examples of these verbs are listed in (28).

(28) Verbs of active subject

*magaru* 'wind/turn', *nozoku* 'show/peep', *saegiru/fusagu* 'block',  
*mieru/miseru* 'show' and *kakomu* 'surround'.

In (29) below, (a) and (b) share the same form, nevertheless, they are different in aspect: (29a) indicates stative aspect, while (29b) imperfective aspect. The difference depends on whether the subject is animate or inanimate as far as verbs of this group are concerned. If the subject is animate and active, the verb expresses imperfective aspect. Otherwise, it expresses stative aspect. Japanese *magaru* is used for two different aspects.

(29) *magaru* 'bend'

- a. Kawa ni awasete kaidoo mo hidari ni magat-teiru.  
 river to suite street too left to bend-stative

[AAS:388]

(lit) The street is also winding along the river.

- b. Boku-ra wa kubi o nobashi-te mukoo o  
 I-PLU TOP neck ACC stretch and over there ACC

nozokikomu yoo-ni-shite kado o magat-ta. [AAS:388]  
 peep in as if do and corner ACC bend-perfective-past

(lit) I stretched my neck as if I peeped over there and turned the corner.

#### 4.2.4.2 English

English Process-Change verbs express either imperfective or stative aspect with the *be -ing* form. In the same way as the Japanese Process-Change verbs, the *be -ing* form with a [+active] subject shows the ongoing activities of active subjects, i.e. imperfective aspect. However, when the *be -ing* form is used with static subjects which have no volition to move, the verb phrases indicate stative aspect.

#### (30) Verbs of active subject

*hang, show, block, etc.*

In (31a) 'it' refers to a framed photograph, thus, the sentence cannot possibly be interpreted with the photograph as the hanging subject. It should be the object of hanging. Thus, (31a) expresses stative aspect.

(31) *hang*

- a. It's hangin' right over there. [BMC:169]
- b. 'I was hanging up my coat. [TCA:23]
- c. The chauffeur was hanging back with a look of self-conscious righteousness. [TCA:24-25]

In the other examples the subjects are each human and 'was hanging' refers to ongoing actions, so (31b) and (31c) express imperfective aspect.

#### 4.2.5 Punctual verbs

##### 4.2.5.1 Japanese

Japanese Punctual verbs usually express stative aspect with the *-teiru* form, and indicate imperfective aspect when adverbs such as **dandan** 'gradually', **ima** 'now' are used.

- (32) a. Verbs of quantitative/qualitative change  
*fueru* 'increase', *heru* 'decrease', *oboeru*



'remember', etc.

b. Verbs of posture

*tatsu* 'stand up', *suwaru* 'sit down', *yoko ni naru* 'lie down',  
*kakaru* 'be hung', etc.

As shown in (32), Punctual verbs in Japanese are typically those which lexically express changes of quantity and quality in certain entities. The sentences in (33) include some examples of Punctual verbs.

(33) *fueru* 'increase'

- a. ...kare wa soto e dekake-te yaru shigoto wa  
he TOP outside DIR go out-and do job TOP

narutake yame, taitei ie de shigoto o shi,  
as much as stop usually house LOC job ACC do  
possible

shikamo chuumon wa junchoo-ni fue-teita. [K:185]  
yet order TOP favorably increase-imperfective past

...he tried not to do job outside as much as possible and worked  
at home and the order was increasing favorably.

- b. Ataerareta kusuri ga fue-teita. Mae  
given medicine SUB increase-stative-past before

wa ni-shurui datta no ga, kondo wa  
TOP two kind COP-past EP but this time TOP

san-shurui ni nat-teita. [K:223]  
three-kind to become-stative-past

The amount of medicine has increased. It was two before, it became three this time.

In example (33), (a) implies imperfective aspect of presently increasing orders, and (b) expresses the result of increased kinds of medicine from two to three. As (a) contains an adverb **junchooni** (favorably) indicating gradual timing, this is realised as the phenomenon progressing. When situation adverbs like **kasukani** (slightly), and **oborogeni** (vaguely) modify verbs, the phrases express stative aspect. On the other hand, adverbs like **dandan** (gradually), **ima** (now), **taezu** (constantly), **totsuzen** (suddenly), and **isshookemmei** (earnestly) modify dynamic phenomena (Kusanagi 1983:184). In these cases the ordering of *-ta* and *-teiru* forms can be reversible.

#### 4.2.5.2 English

In the case of English, the following verbs usually express stative aspect of result with the *be -ing* form, can also indicate imperfective aspect.

#### (34) Verbs of posture/position

*stand, lean, sit, lie, etc.*

With *be -ing*, the above verbs indicate stative aspect, i.e. the result of the action of standing, leaning, sitting, etc. is observed after those actions have

taken place. Otherwise, it expresses imperfective aspect, i.e. transitional actions towards standing, leaning, sitting, etc. When such verbs indicate stative aspect of result, they are followed by the locations which are the destinations of the actions. Look at (35) for example.

(35) a. *lean*

She was leaning against the fender of her Ford pickup... [BMC:80]

b. *sit*

When he pulled into the yard, a woman was sitting on the front porch. [BMC:15]

All the examples above include locations, so they all indicate the result of the action.

#### 4.2.6 Durative verbs

##### 4.2.6.1 Japanese

Finally, we consider Durative verbs. In Japanese this class includes verbs in (36) and their *-teiru* form usually expresses imperfective aspect, and sometimes stative aspect.

(36) Verbs of human activity

*nemuru* 'sleep', *kiku* 'listen', *kaku* 'write', *yomu* 'read', *nomu* 'drink',  
*taberu* 'eat', *hanasu* 'speak', *kimeru* 'decide', *untensuru* 'drive',  
*benkyoosuru* 'study', *hataraku* 'work', etc.

Those verbs are all human activities.

(37) *nomu* 'drink'

- a. Jijitsu, akamboo wa tooni naki-yan-deite, shinkenni  
actually baby TOP already cry stop-perf seriously

taainaku, hitasurani, miruku o non-deita. [K:177]  
innocently earnestly milk ACC drink-imperfective-past

Actually the baby has already stopped crying and is drinking milk seriously, innocently and earnestly.

- b. Tsukarekit-teite, kiryoku o furuiokosu tame koi  
exhausted-stative energy ACC cheer up to strong

koohii o nomitakatta ga, koohii wa sono hi  
coffee ACC drink-want-past but TOP that day

moo nambai mo non-deita. [K:226]  
already many cups too drink-stative

He was exhausted and wanted to drink strong coffee in order to heighten his energy, but he had already drunk many cups of coffee that day.

In the last pair, (37a) is an example of imperfective aspect, and (37b) exhibits stative aspect. In (37a) the baby is actually drinking milk (imperfective aspect)



at the time, while in (37b) the drinking of the coffee happened some time ago on the same day (experience, i.e. stative aspect). If the sentence includes a temporal adverb such as **moo/sudeni** 'already', it works as a clue in such cases.

#### 4.2.6.2 English

In English there is no applicable verb category to be listed as Durative verbs. That is, English lacks verbs which usually express dynamic imperfective aspect with *be -ing* and occasionally use it to express stative aspect.

### 4.3 Results

The following table shows the associations between verb classes and verb types in Japanese and English. For example, verbs of existence and verbs of potentiality and necessity are Stative verbs in the both languages, while verbs of subsistence/relation belong to Change verbs in Japanese but to Stative verbs in English.

(38) Verb class/verb type association

Japanese verb class	Verb type	English verb class
---------------------	-----------	--------------------



Stative verbs	existence potentiality/necessity	Stative verbs (Auxiliary verbs)
Change verbs	subsistence/relation inert cognition consumption	Stative verbs
	bodily sensation	Change verbs
	position	Punctual verbs (some Adjectives)
	property	(Adjectives)
	momentary action transitional movement	Process verbs
Punctual verbs	qualitative/quantitative change	
	posture	Punctual verbs
Process verbs	volitional subject	---
Process-Change verbs	active subject	Process-Change verbs
Durative verbs	human activity	Process verbs

As this table indicates, only four types of verbs belong to the same verb classes in both Japanese and English; they are verbs of existence, verbs of bodily sensation, verbs of active subject, and verbs of posture. Japanese Change verbs correspond to four verb classes, i.e. Stative verbs, Change verbs, Process verbs and Punctual verbs, in addition to the Adjective class in English.

In what follows, we will take a closer look at Japanese Change verbs, Process verbs, Process-Change and Durative verbs and their counterparts in English.

#### 4.3.1 Japanese Change verbs

Japanese Change verbs which express stative aspect in the *-teiru* form include eight verb types. In Japanese and English there is only one tendency which is common in this verb class: bodily sensation.

Japanese Change verbs which refer to subsistence, inert cognition and consumption are Stative verbs in English. Property, which is expressed by Change verbs in Japanese, is mainly expressed by adjectives in English.

Japanese verbs which refer to momentary action and transitional movement are Change verbs, while they are Process verbs in English.

The aspectual form *-teiru* works on Japanese Change verbs to express stative aspect. In English, however, stative aspect for the phenomena is expressed by other methods, that is, by Stative verbs and adjectives. (39) and (40) give typical examples.

(39) Momentary action

- a. Kangaruu ga shin-deiru.  
kangaroo SUB die (Change verb-stative)

A kangaroo is dead.

- b. A kangaroo is dying.  
(Process verb-imperfective)

(40) Transitional movement

- a. Kare wa Tookyoo ni it-teiru.  
he TOP Tokyo to go (Change verb-stative)  
  
He has gone to Tokyo.
- b. He is going to Tokyo.  
(Process verb-imperfective)

On the contrary to the case of Japanese Change verbs with *-teiru*, English Process verbs indicate imperfective aspect with *be -ing*, not stative aspect. In this regard, *-teiru* and *be -ing* are diverse ways to express aspect.

#### 4.3.2 Japanese Punctual verbs

Japanese Punctual verbs which usually show stative aspect and occasionally imperfective aspect with *-teiru* are verbs of quantitative/qualitative change, and verbs of posture. Although verbs denoting posture are Punctual verbs in both Japanese and English, the type of quantitative/qualitative change is encoded by some Process verbs which show imperfective aspect with *be -ing* in English. Regarding the type of quantitative/qualitative change, the Japanese *-teiru* emphasizes the stative interpretation than that of imperfectiveness, and the English *be -ing* has no stative meaning.

#### 4.3.3 Japanese Process-Change and Durative verbs

In both languages Process-Change verbs are those which presuppose active subjects. Process-Change verbs express imperfective aspect with *-teiru/be -ing* when the subject is [+active]. As verbs presupposing active subjects have the [+active] feature inherently, this feature is more activated by *teiru/be -ing*.

Japanese Durative verbs also possess the same feature as Process-Change verbs in terms of presupposing active subjects. In addition to that, Japanese Durative verbs more specifically point to human activities. In English, human activities are encoded by Process verbs. That is because Japanese Durative verbs can express not only imperfective aspect but also stative aspect with *-teiru*, but English Process verbs indicate imperfective aspect only with *be -ing*. English, therefore, lacks the class of Durative verbs.

#### 4.4 Concluding Remarks

So far, we have investigated verb class association between Japanese and English. In this section we will summarize some important points that are drawn from the above contrastive analysis of Japanese and English aspect.



#### 4.4.1 Verb/aspect association with *-teiru* or *be -ing*

The table below shows which verb type is used for which aspect with either *-teiru* or *be -ing*.

(41) verb type/aspect association with *-teiru/be -ing*

Aspect	Japanese <i>-teiru</i>	English <i>be -ing</i>
Stative aspect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• position (Change)</li> <li>• property (Change)</li> <li>• active subject (Process-Change)</li> <li>• subsistence/relation (Change)</li> <li>• bodily sensation (Change)</li> <li>• inert cognition (Change)</li> <li>• momentary action (Change)</li> <li>• consumption (Change)</li> <li>• quantitative/qualitative (Punctual)</li> <li>• posture (Punctual)</li> <li>• transitional movement (Change)</li> <li>• human activity (Durative)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• bodily sensation (Change)</li> <li>• active subject (Process-Change)</li> <li>• posture (Punctual)</li> </ul>
Dynamic imperfective aspect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• volitional subject (Process)</li> <li>• quantitative/qualitative (Punctual)</li> <li>• active subject (Process-Change)</li> <li>• human activity (Durative)</li> <li>• posture (Punctual)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• human activity (Process)</li> <li>• quantitative/qualitative (Punctual)</li> <li>• momentary action (Process)</li> <li>• posture (Punctual)</li> </ul>

In the table above, some verb types, such as human activities in Japanese, posture in English appear as both stative aspect and imperfective aspect. This is because those verb types belong to verb classes which may express both aspects in the *-teiru* or *be -ing* form.

What is significant about characterization of *-teiru* and *be -ing* is the number of verb types in each column. In Japanese, 12 verb types are in stative



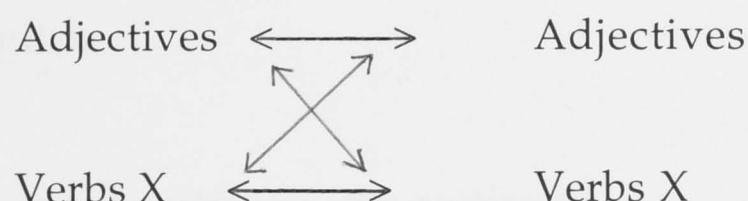
aspect, and 5 verb types in imperfective aspect. This means that in Japanese many verb types express stative aspect when attaching *-teiru* relatively. By contrast, in English, there are 3 verb types belonging to stative aspect, and 5 types to imperfective aspect, indicating that more verb types signify imperfective aspect when attaching *be -ing*. This distribution thus, suggests that the Japanese *-teiru* can be characterized to deliver more stative connotation than imperfective meaning, while the English *be -ing* has more imperfective implications than stative.

#### 4.4.2 Word class difference and aspect

Among differences between Japanese and English, one notable fact is the association involving word classes. Some phenomena which are expressed by the *-teiru* form of Japanese verbs are expressed by adjectives in English, and vice versa.

Recall that adjectives express stative aspect in Japanese and English (cf. 3.2.1 and 3.2.2), and as listed in the table above, a number of verbs also express stative aspect. In other words, adjectives and these verbal forms share the identical aspectual meaning. This allows us to associate adjectives with equivalent verbal forms in other languages.

(42) Japanese English



(Verbs X = verbal groups which may express stative aspect in the *-teiru/be -ing* form)

(43) gives some examples of Japanese verbs in the *-teiru* form with their English counterparts, adjectives.

(43) Japanese Change verb vs. English Adjective

<u>Japanese</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>shindeiru</i>	'be dead'
<i>tsukareteiru</i>	'be tired'
<i>(onaka ga) suiteiru</i>	'be hungry'
<i>tonariatteiru</i>	'be next to'
<i>bakageteiru</i>	'be silly'
<i>arifureteiru</i>	'be common'
<i>sugureteiru</i>	'be superior'
<i>chigatteiru</i>	'be different'
<i>kondeiru</i>	'be crowded'

As illustrated, despite difference in word classes, the words in each pair can be seen as grammatically equivalent in terms of aspect. These facts lead us to the conclusion that difference in word class does not always mean difference in aspect. This further suggests that in teaching Japanese it is would also be necessary to provide students with a list of Japanese verb classes and

tendencies which may express stative aspect, and therefore could be adjectives in English.

#### 4.4.3 Intransitivity/transitivity

Another interesting point to be mentioned concerns transitivity and intransitivity. In Japanese transitive verbs and intransitive verbs have different forms, while the English verbs share the same form in most cases. An example of this is shown in (44) below.

- (44) a. Doa ga aku.  
door SUB open-Intransitive  
The door opens.  
Intransitive
- b. Doa o akeru.  
ACC open-Transitive  
(Somebody) opens the door.  
Transitive

As above, a pair of Japanese verbs, *aku* and *akeru* are lexically equivalent to the English word *open*. Additionally, it is shown that in Japanese an intransitive verb and a transitive verb possess different forms, i.e. *aku* and *akeru*, whereas English shares the same form, *open*.

Next, taking the Japanese words *aku* and *akeru* and the English *open* as an example, we will compare the aspect using *-teiru* or *be -ing*.

(45) Intransitive verbs

- a. Kanojo no heya no mado ga ai-teiru.  
she GEN room GEN window SUB open-stative

The window in her room is open.

- b. The window in her room is opening.  
(imperfective)

(46) Transitive verbs

- a. Kanojo wa heya no mado o ake-teiru.  
she TOP room GEN window ACC open-imperfective/stative

She is opening the window in her room.

or She opened the window in her room.

- b. She is opening the window in her room.  
(imperfective)

*Aketeiru* in (45a) expresses the situation of the window being open - stative aspect, the result of the opening action, while the English *is opening* in (45b) indicates the progressive situation of the window opening itself, i.e. imperfective aspect. For (46a), *aketeiru* can be interpreted in two different ways: 1) now she is opening the window (imperfective aspect); and 2) she opened the window some time ago (stative aspect - experience). As English lacks experience, (46b) shows imperfective aspect only (cf. 3.5.3).

What these sets of examples imply with respect to aspect are the following two points. First, the Japanese intransitive verbal form *aiteiru*

expresses stative aspect, while its transitive counterpart *aketeiru* has two possibilities, i.e. either stative or imperfective aspect. Second, the English word *is opening* always shows imperfective aspect only. To examine whether or not we can generalize these facts, let us consider the verbal forms in (47) below, each pair of which is considered to share a certain common lexical meaning.

(47)	Japanese Intransitive/Transitive	English Intransitive & Transitive
a.	<i>shimaru/shimeru</i>	'shut/close'
b.	<i>hajimaru/hajimeru</i>	'start/begin'
c.	<i>ochiru/otosu</i>	'drop'
d.	<i>tomaru/tomeru</i>	'stop'
e.	<i>tsuku/tsukeru</i>	'attach/stick'
f.	<i>magaru/mageru</i>	'bend'

For the verbs in (47a) to (47e) the same phenomenon as (45) and (46) above is observed; namely, intransitive verbs with *-teiru* indicate stative aspect, and transitive verbs with *-teiru* show both imperfective and stative aspect in Japanese; in English both intransitive and transitive verbs in the *be -ing* form express imperfective aspect only. However, in (47f) the intransitive verb with *-teiru*, *magatteiru* can express not only stative aspect but also imperfective aspect, yet, in the English counterparts imperfective aspect is signified by the *be -ing* form. Let us take (47f) as an example.



(48) Intransitive verbs

- a. Eda ga magat-teiru.  
branch SUB bend-stative

The branch is bent.

or The branch is bending.

- b. The branch is bending.  
(imperfective)

(49) Transitive verbs

- a. Kare wa eda o mage-teiru.  
he TOP branch ACC bend-imperfective/stative

He is bending the branch.

He bent the branch.

- b. He is bending the branch.  
(imperfective)

In (48a) the sentence can imply both stative (result) and imperfective aspects, while (48b) only shows imperfective aspect of the branch bending itself. (49a) also has two possibilities, i.e. stative (experience) and imperfective aspects. (49b) shows his bending action as progressive, imperfective aspect only.

Thus, depending on the verb type, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs in *-teiru*/*be -ing* show the different aspects within each language, and *-teiru* and *be -ing* do not correspond to each other on a one to one basis in cross-linguistics.

It is worth stressing here that the English lexical counterpart verbs of *aiteiru/aketeiru* and *magatteiru/mageteiru* express imperfective aspect, e.g. *is opening, is bending*. Accordingly, the *-teiru* form of transitive verbs is a teaching item to which the students should pay special attention. In addition, it would be necessary to make sure the students understand that these forms are grammatically equivalent to the *be + adjective/be + p.p.* forms, for example, *is open, is bent*.

In Chapter Five we will look at errors of aspect by English speaking Japanese learners and will attempt to apply the outcome of the analysis above to their errors.

## Chapter 5 Errors of Aspect

### 5.0 Introduction

Errors occur in various learning levels. While errors tend to be regarded as negative factors in learning a language, Svartvik (1972) points out that errors can be turned to a positive effect by analyzing them. To be more specific, error analysis is useful for the language teaching situation because it helps:

- (a) to set up a hierarchy of difficulties
- (b) to achieve a realistic ranking of teaching priorities at different levels
- (c) to objectify principles of grading, preferably in international cooperation
- (d) to produce suitable teaching materials
- (e) to revise syllabuses in a non-*ad hoc* manner
- (f) to construct tests which are relevant for different purposes and levels
- (g) to decompartmentalize language teaching at different levels, in particular the school and university levels. (Svartvik 1972:13)

We will investigate errors which involve aspect (aspectual errors henceforth) in this chapter. In section 5.1, we present the relevant data. In the following section, 5.2, we interpret the errors and discuss conceivable

reasons for them. It will be shown that a number of the errors are due to influence from the learners' first language, i.e. English. 5.3 deals with error tendency by verb class. The verb classes which contain more errors are Change verbs and Durative verbs. In 5.4, we attempt to make suggestions which would be valuable for teaching the Japanese aspect system, on the basis of contrastive and error analyses.

## 5.1 Source of The Data

The data was collected from students in the Japan Centre, the Australian National University. The students are those who enrolled in Written Japanese A & B in the year of 1995. Written Japanese A & B are mainly offered to the first year students, A in the first semester and B in the second semester. The number of students who are in Written Japanese A & B is 54, and some non-English speaking background students are in the courses. Since the aim of this thesis is to investigate the effects of English on learning the Japanese aspect system, their compositions are excluded from the analysis.

Titles of composition are 'Myself', 'My family', 'My high school days', and 'My holidays'. The number of sentences, and that of aspectual errors are given in the following table.



### (1) Students' composition

	No. of sentences	No. of aspectual errors
Myself	883	28
My Family	792	22
My High School Days	774	19
My Holidays	949	21
Total	3,398	90

It is possible to say that aspectual errors are produced every 38.5 sentence, since the number of sentences in total is 3,398.

## 5.2 Interpretation of The Errors

### 5.2.1 Classification of errors

Larsen-Freeman & Long (1991:59) give the following table to classify errors.



## (2) Error taxonomy

Type of Error	Example	Explanation
(A) Interlingual Errors		
Interference	*Is the book of my friend.	The omission of the subject pronoun and the use of the 'of the' possessive appear to be due to Spanish interference.
(B) Intralingual Errors		
a. Over-generalization	*I wonder where are you going.	The speaker has perhaps overgeneralized the rule of subject-auxiliary inversion and applied it here to an embedded WH-question incorrectly.
b. Simplification (Redundancy reduction)	*I studied English for two year.	The omission of the plural marker following the noun <i>year</i> could be termed redundancy reduction as no information is lost, i.e. the cardinal number already signals plurality.
c. Communication-based	*The learner uses 'airball' for balloon (word coinage, Tarone 1980)	The learner incorrectly labels an object but successfully communicates a desired concept.
d. Induced errors	*She cries as if the baby cries FOR 'She cries like a baby'. (Stenson 1974)	The teacher had given the student a definition of 'as if' meaning 'like' without explaining the necessary structural change.

As shown, errors are primarily divided into Interlingual error and Intralingual error. The latter category is further classified into four types: Over-generalization, Simplification, Communication-based, and Induced errors.

Aspectual errors are realised as the use of wrong aspectual forms. Error examples from our data by aspectual error type will be interpreted below using the classification above.

First, we will consider Interference, the errors caused by Influence from English aspectual system. Word class confusion between English and Japanese and adopting the English form wrongly are typical of Interference.

(3) is an example of word class confusion.

(3) *futoi* 'fat'

\*Haha wa se ga hikukute sukoshi futoi desu.  
mother TOP height SUB short-te a little fat COP

→futot-teimasu  
get fat-stative

My mother is short and a little fat.

Although *futoi* is used for parts of the body, it is not used for the whole figure. Instead, the *-teiru* form of *futoru* 'get fat', i.e. *futotteiru* is the proper word. Indeed, the learner assumes that *futoi* corresponds to English 'fat' and does not consider it necessary attaching *-teiru* to a verb *futoru* 'get fat'. The confusion of an English adjective and a Japanese verb is regarded as Interference.

In (4) below we will find the wrong form being adopted from English.

(4) *kakeru* 'hang'

\*(Haha wa) megane o kakemasu.  
mother TOP glasses ACC hang-perfective  
→*kake-teimasu*  
hang-stative

(lit) My mother wears glasses.

In the Japanese sentence, the form should be *megane o kaketeimasu*, whereas in that of English either '*wears glasses*' or '*is wearing glasses*' is possible. It seems that the learner used the *-ru* form, which he/she thought as the corresponding form to the English *wear*, the  $\emptyset$  form. This type of error is imposed by Interference from English. The appropriate form in Japanese is the *-teiru* form where it is used only to express stative aspect of wearing glasses.

Secondly, Over-generalization occurs where the learner over-generalizes the use of the *-teiru* form and attaches *-teiru* to Stative verbs and adjectives which do not take *-teiru*. Look at (5) for example.

(5) *tanoshii* 'cheerful'

\*Hokano sobo wa omoshirokute tanoshi-teimasu.  
other grandma TOP funny-te cheerful-teiru  
→*tanoshii-desu*  
Adj. COP

My other grandmother is funny and cheerful.

*Tanoshii* is an adjective and does not take *-teiru*, but this example contains *-teimasu* which is a polite form of *-teiru*. This kind of error seems to be caused by the learner's Over-generalization that *-teiru* can be attached to adjectives. Thus, this is a wrong application of a rule, i.e. attaching *-teiru* to words which do not take *-teiru*.

Communication-based error means that the failure to use the correct form at the linguistic expression level is caused by the wrong aspect recognition. (6) fails to use the *-teiru* form when it is required.

(6) *teru* 'shine'

\*Totemo atsui hi ga akaruku terimashita.  
very hot sun SUB brightly shine-perfective-past  
→tet-teimashita.  
teru-imperfective-past

(lit) The very hot sun was shining brightly.

In (6) the focus is on a certain point of time in the past. Since the learner focuses on a point in the middle of the event which is continuing, the aspect is imperfective and the form should be *-teiru* not *-ru*. The English form for this case is *be -ing*, and this corresponds to the Japanese *-teiru*, but the learner cannot use the *-teiru* form satisfactorily and avoids the form and, thus, uses the *-ru* form in the past tense which he/she can use more confidently.

Thirdly, the learners may tend to use the learned form, i.e. the *-teiru*



form as a result of the induction that the form is the fixed form for those taught verbs. Such errors are labelled Induced errors. They are frequent in verbs such as *sumu* 'live' and *tsutomeru* 'work at'.

(7) a. *sumu* 'live'

\*Sorekara Sanjeego e Itte sun-deimasu.

then San Diego to go-te live-stative

→sumimasu  
live-perfective

Then we will go to San Diego and live there.

b. *tsutomeru* 'work at'

\*Oosutoraria ni kaetta ato de, Oosutoraria Nashonaru

Australia LOC return after at Australian National

Gyararii ni tsutome-teimasu.

Gallery LOC work-stative

→tsutome-masu  
work-perfective

After I return to Australia I will work at the National Gallery of Australia.

Students are taught in class that *sumu* and *tsutomeru* require *-teiru* to express the present state, stative aspect. The verbs might have become established in the learner's mind in the form of *-teiru*. In other words, the learner might have concluded that the *-teiru* form is the correct form for those verbs. However, the event of living and that of working are recognized as whole



actions in the future by the writer in (7a) and (7b) above and the required form is *-ru*.

The final category of errors, Simplification, is the avoidance of redundancy as given in (2) which was cited from Larsen-Freeman & Long. It occurs when more than one linguistic rule must be used in order to make the sentence grammatical. Aspectual errors are realised in the form of either *-ru* or *-teiru*, and if *-ru* is judged correct in a certain case, *-teiru* is wrong and vice versa. Simplification, therefore, is not applicable to our study.

### 5.2.2 Tendency

There are 90 aspectual errors obtained in total. Each error type shows the following error frequency.

#### (8) Error frequency by error type

Type of Error	No. of Errors	%
Interference	57	63.3
Over-generalization	1	1.1
Communication-based	13	14.5
Induced errors	19	21.1
Total	90	100

The error type which shows the highest error frequency, i.e. 63.3%, is Interference, and the next is Induced errors giving 21.1%. Communication-based errors were 14.5% of the error, and Over-generalization accounted for only 1.1%. These rates show how much the first language, in this case English, influences the learner when he/she tries to acquire the aspect system of Japanese. This shows how valuable a contrastive study between the first language and the second language can be in acquiring aspect. We need to make clear what is similar and what is different in aspect between the two languages.

Induced errors and Communication-based errors are also frequent. Lack of explanation in teaching aspect results in Induced errors because learners tend to use the taught form, i.e. *-teiru* on every occasion. On which occasions the *-teiru* form is used and when it is not, and with what verbs should be clarified in the class. Communication-based errors are made because learners fail to obtain the correct form to convey the intended aspect. Formal study of Japanese aspect will be valuable in avoiding these errors.

Over-generalization accounts for only one error and is applicable to Stative verbs only since only Stative verbs do not take *-teiru*. Distinguishing verbs taking *-teiru* from verbs not taking *-teiru* may not be difficult for English speakers as English Stative verbs behave the same way.

As Interference is found so often, we are confident that contrastive

study at two levels, i.e. formal level and verb class level will be helpful for teaching Japanese aspect.

### 5.3 Tendency of Aspectual Errors in Verb Class

We will now consider errors in more detail by taking a closer look at the aspectual errors at the verb class level. The following table provides the number of errors by verb class.

(9) Error by verb class

	Verb class						
	Stative	Change	Process	Process-Change	Punctual	Durative	Total
No. of errors	1	44	0	1	10	34	90
%	1.1	48.9	0	1.1	11.1	37.8	100

The verb class for which there were most aspectual errors was the Change verbs class which accounted for 44 errors. There were no errors in the Process verbs class. The next fewest classes for errors were the Stative verbs class and the Process-Change verbs classes: both included 1 error only. Punctual verbs accounted for 10, and Durative verbs 34.

Among verbs, Japanese Change verbs which express the stative aspect taking the -teiru form seem to be the most difficult to acquire, concerning

aspect. In contrast to English Change verbs which only denote bodily sensation, Japanese Change verbs are numerous<sup>1</sup>. It should be quite a burden for English speakers to learn Japanese Change verbs.

The Durative verb class accounted for 34 errors, and we have found in Chapter Four that English lacks this class. Japanese Durative verbs express stative and imperfective aspects with *-teiru*. The way Durative verbs indicate stative aspect will be complicated for English speakers. For example, consider the case of a Japanese verb *au* 'meet' below,

- (10) a. Kare wa kyonen sono hito ni at-teiru.  
he TOP last year that person with meet-stative

He met the person last year.

- b. He is meeting the person now.

The verbal phrase *atteiru* (*au* + *teiru*) in (10a) expresses stative aspect of experience, while *is meeting* in (10b) signifies imperfective aspect. In (10a) *atteiru* and *kyonen* 'last year', a past temporal expression, can coexist, while (10b) cannot accommodate both *is meeting* and 'last year'. Thus English speakers may confuse the usage of experience and progress.

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<sup>1</sup> As we have seen in Chapter Four, Japanese Change verbs include verbs referring to position, property, subsistence/relation, ownership, bodily sensation, inert cognition, momentary action, consumption, and transitional movement.



The number of errors involving Japanese Punctual verbs is 10, which is fewer than the above classes. Apart from verbs of posture, the corresponding verbs in English are Process verbs. As English Process verbs are those which show imperfective aspect only with *be -ing*, the different behaviour may make Japanese Punctual verbs difficult to understand.

Let us turn to verbs giving fewer errors. For Process verbs the Japanese *-teiru* form and the English *be -ing* form always indicate dynamic imperfective aspect. No errors are obtained for this class. The absence of errors is explicable from the view point of contrastive analysis. That is, as both Japanese and English verbs behave in the same way in terms of aspect, English speakers may have no problem dealing with Japanese Process verbs.

For Japanese Stative verbs only one error was seen, and as we have already discussed in 5.2.2, it is the error of Over-generalization. It seems reasonable not to observe many errors because there are only several verbs in the inventory of Japanese Stative verbs apart from adjectives, and such verbs as *iru*, *aru* behave in the same way as *is*, *am*, *are*, etc. Indeed, not many other words in this class are found in the compositions.

Japanese Process-Change Verbs express either imperfective aspect with the [+active] subject or stative aspect with the [-active] subject in the *-teiru* form. Only one error is found for this class. The verb tendency, having active subjects is common in both Japanese and English Process-Change verbs, and hence, it is perhaps effortless to handle Japanese Process-Change



verbs properly.

So far, we have discussed frequency of errors by verb class, i.e. which class gives numerous errors and which class has few. We will then attempt to establish the hierarchy of difficulties among verb classes. The difference between the number of errors for Change verbs and that of Durative verbs is 10, and the difference between the number of errors for Durative verbs and that of Punctual verbs is 24. Thus, we can draw a line between Durative verbs and Punctual verbs. Japanese Change and Durative verbs can be said to be the most difficult verbs to acquire for English speakers. The next most difficult verbs are Japanese Punctual verbs. Comparatively the other three verb classes seem to be the easiest to understand for English speakers.

We will now take a closer look at verbs which show high frequency of errors, i.e. Change verbs, Durative verbs and Punctual verbs, respectively.

### 5.3.1 Japanese Change verbs

As mentioned above, English Change verbs are those denoting bodily sensation, and other verb types are expressed by adjectives and Stative verbs.

As adjectives and Stative verbs express stative aspect without *be -ing*, English speakers can forget to attach *-teiru* to Japanese Change verbs. (11) is an example of the error.

(11) *wakaru* 'understand'

\*Nihonjin wa umaretsuki konna koto ga yoku wakarimasu.

Japanese TOP by born such thing SUB well understand-

perfective

→wakat-teimasu

wakaru-stative

(lit.) Japanese people understand such things well by born.

The above sentence intends to express stative aspect, but it fails because it uses *-ru* for *-teiru*. Consequently, the sentence expresses perfective aspect (and the *-ru* form indicates future action and the *-ta* form past action).

Among Japanese Change verbs, *sumu* 'live' shows the biggest number of aspectual errors with 14, the second verb is *naru* 'become' with 4 errors; the third is *motsu* 'have' with 3, verbs which show 2 errors are *omou* 'think', *shiru* 'know' and *tsuku* 'arrive'; other verbs such as *wakaru* 'understand', *shinu* 'die' and *iku* 'go' show one error. *Sumu* is frequently used in the compositions titled 'Myself' and 'My Family', and *naru* in 'Myself'. Japanese Change verbs are either adjectives, Stative verbs, Process verbs, Punctual verbs or Change verbs in English. For example, *live*, *think*, *understand*, etc. are Stative verbs, and *become*, *die*, *arrive*, *go*, *enter*, etc. are Process verbs. *Be crowded* and *be tired of* are adjectives. As observed in Chapter Four, these English words behave differently from Japanese Change verbs which take *-teiru* to express stative aspect, since English Process verbs with *be -ing* do not show stative aspect. Moreover, adjectives and Stative verbs in English do not

need *be -ing* to indicate stative aspect. Thus, it is easy to see that English speakers may have difficulties dealing with these Japanese Change verbs. For *sume* 'live', there were errors of failing to show not only stative aspect, but also perfective aspect. (12a) is an example of the former, while (12b) shows the latter.

(12) *sumu* 'live'

- a. \*Chichi to haha wa ima Kyanbera no Kukku ni  
father and mother TOP now Canberra GEN Cook LOC

sumimasu.

live-perfective

→sun-deimasu

live-stative

My father and mother now live in Cook of Canberra.

- b. \*Intaisuru toki ni Hawai ni sun-deiru, bonsai  
retire when at Hawaii LOC live-stative pot plant

o saibaishimasu.

ACC grow-perfective

→sun-de

live-perfective-te

When I retire, I will live in Hawaii and grow pot plants.

To express stative aspect which is intended in (12a), *sumu* must take *-teiru* and constitute *sundeiru*. *Sumimasu* is the form encoding perfective aspect.

(12b) shows the kind of error we have already seen in Induced errors. The

writer is talking about his/her future plans, so *sundeimasu* which refers to the present state of living is not appropriate. Instead, *sumimasu* which expresses a future event is required.

### 5.3.2 Japanese Durative verbs

Among Durative verbs the most errors are seen in *benkyoosuru* 'study' and *Noun o suru* 'do something (Noun)', both giving 8 errors. The compositions titled 'Myself' and 'My High School Days' contain these two words abundantly. The next most problematic verb is *tsutomeru* 'work at' with 5 errors, and *iu* 'say' with 2 errors. Other verbs such as *teru* 'shine', *au* 'meet', *matsu* 'wait', *miru* 'watch', etc. account for one error each. All Japanese Durative verbs are Process verbs in English, thus, the *be -ing* form of those verbs expresses only imperfective aspect in English. This difference in aspect should be difficult for English speakers to comply with.

In addition to that, learners tend to make errors as to the production of experience which is marked by *-teiru* as we have discussed already. (13) is an example with a Durative verb *suu* 'smoke'.

(14) *suu* 'smoke'

\*(Haha wa izen) tabako o suimashita ga ima  
mother TOP before cigarette ACC smoke-perfective but now

wa yamemashita.  
TOP stop-perfective-past

→sut-teimashita  
suu-stative-past

My mother used to smoke before but now she has stopped it.

*Suimashita* in (13) indicates only a single past event of smoking, and observes the event as a whole. On the other hand, *sutteimashita* expresses stative aspect and expresses the writer's true intention of indicating the old habit (experience). Its English version, that *she used to smoke/smoked*, does not include *be -ing*, so the learner does not expect Japanese to use *-teiru*. This is because the English *be -ing* form does not express experience.

It is expected that there will be no error for imperfective aspect because the correspondence of *-teiru* ' *be -ing* ' is clear, however, some errors of the following kind are found, although the frequency is low.

(14) *benkyoosuru* 'study'

\*Kyoo kara ato ichi-nen ni mada watashi wa daigakusei  
today from after one year in still I TOP university student

de Oosutoraria Kokuritsu Daigaku de benkyooshimasu.  
COP-te Australia National University LOC study-perfective

→benkyooshi-teimasu  
study-imperfective

(lit) In one year's time I will still be a university student and will be studying in the Australian National University.



This sentence suggests an event in progress in the future, i.e. in one year's time, so the aspect is imperfective and the form should be *-teiru*.

### 5.3.3 Japanese Punctual verbs

Verbs in this class usually express stative aspect with *-teiru* but when accompanied by some temporal adverbs they can express imperfective aspect. Verbs for which there were 2 errors are *futoru* 'get fat' and *tokeru* 'thaw'; other verbs such as *oboeru* 'remember', *yaseru* 'get slim' and *kiru* 'put on' show 1 error only. As the English corresponding words are Process verbs for which the *be -ing* form expresses only imperfective aspect, this difference again seems difficult to understand for English speakers. In the following sentences stative aspect is intended, thus, the *-teiru* form is required.

(16) a. *tokeru* 'melt/thaw'

\*Sukii-joo ni wa tenki ga mada samukatta desu  
ski field LOC TOP weather SUB still cold-past COP

ga, yuki wa yawarakaku-te hotondo tokemashita.  
but snow TOP soft-te almost thaw-perfective-past  
→toke-teimashita  
tokeru-stative-past

In the skiing ground the weather was still cold, but the snow was soft and almost thawed.

b. *oboeru* 'remember'

\*Tori no naku koto to kono ki no kaori o  
bird GEN twitter thing and this tree GEN scent ACC

itsumo oboeru yoo desu.  
always remember-perfective seem COP  
→*oboeteiru*  
remember-stative

It seems that I will always remember birds singing and the scent of this tree.

*Tokemashita* in (15a), which is a polite form of *tokeru* 'melt/thaw' expresses a past event. However, when the writer went skiing the snow had already thawed, which means that snow began to thaw before the writer went there. Thus, *toketeimashita* which expresses stative aspect, result is the correct form for that. In the same way *oboeru* in (15b) indicates perfective aspect and the writer aims at stative aspect of result, namely, remembering state after remembering action. In order to correct this, the verb must take *-teiru*. Using the *-ru* form instead of the *-teiru* form for remembering implies Interference from English, since the English 'remember' does not take *be -ing*.

## 5.4 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, we have considered errors which involve aspect on the basis of data from learners' written compositions. In 5.0 we confirmed that errors

can be used positively by analyzing them, although they are usually regarded as negative factors in language learning. Throughout the analyses in this chapter we can make some suggestions on points (a) and (e) of Svartvik's statements in 5.0.

Regarding error types, Interference, which testifies to the significance of contrastive study, is the most common error type. however, Induced errors should also be considered carefully when teaching Japanese aspect.

Errors are also dealt with at the verb class level. The error frequencies among verb classes leads us to establish the following hierarchy: Change verbs and Durative verbs are the most difficult verbs followed by Punctual verbs, while Process verbs, Stative verbs, and Process-Change verbs are comparatively manageable. The analysis also convinces us that the differences in verb types between Japanese verbs and English verbs will make Japanese aspect learning difficult for English speakers. Showing verb classification will help learners to avoid making aspectual errors.

In teaching Japanese aspect it is also of great importance to construct appropriate syllabi which is point (e) of Svartvik's listing. Syllabi or items to be taught, in Japanese aspect are diverse and vary with the textbook used. Aspect appears in the early stage of Japanese teaching as it is included in the predicate in Japanese. But whenever a new verb is introduced, it is most likely to be given in the dictionary form or the *-ru* form. Apart from Stative verbs, the dictionary form of Japanese verbs expresses perfective aspect. After

a certain number of verbs are introduced, an explanation of aspectual forms and verb classes should be made so that students can arrange the taught items in an orderly way. The following items should be included in any syllabus for teaching Japanese aspect.

(16) Items to be included in syllabi

- a. Aspectual form and aspect
  - *-ru* : stative & perfective aspects
  - *-teiru*: imperfective & stative aspects
- b. Verb class, form, and aspect
  - Stative verbs: *-ru* → stative aspect
  - Change verbs: *-ru* → perfective aspect  
*-teiru* → stative aspect
  - Process verbs: *-ru* → perfective aspect  
*-teiru* → imperfective aspect
  - Process-Change verbs: *-ru* → perfective aspect  
*-teiru* → imperfective/stative aspect
  - Punctual verbs: *-ru* → perfective aspect  
*-teiru* → stative/imperfective aspect
  - Durative verbs : *-ru* → perfective aspect  
*-teiru* → imperfective/stative aspect
- c. Three Stative aspect types
  - mere state
  - result
  - experience

It is difficult to determine a ranking of teaching priorities among verb classes since verbs do not appear in class in order of aspectual difficulty. At least, at a certain point, word class differences and verb class differences between



Japanese and English should be explained.

Regarding aspectual forms, *-teiru* expresses four situations, i.e. progress, mere state, result and experience. Progress should be the easiest for learners to understand, since the English *be -ing* corresponds to the Japanese *-teiru* to express progress. Although English also possesses mere state and result in the *be -ing* form, as the cases are few (verbs of bodily sensation show mere state with *be -ing*, and verbs of posture, result), the fact that the Japanese *-teiru* form indicates mere state and result will be demanding for students to learn. Nevertheless, the most difficult usage of *-teiru* to acquire will be experience, as the English *be -ing* is never used in such a way. Therefore, concerning the *-teiru* form, it seems best that progress be taught earlier than other usages, experience at the last, and mere state and result in between. Another important point to be emphasized about forms should be that assumption of the correspondence of the English *be -ing* ↔ the Japanese *-teiru* is not always possible.

Lastly, this analysis is made on data from beginner students only, we could not gain effective observation of the advanced students. Analysis of the errors of advanced students may lead to different results, for example, the verb classes might give different error frequency as the advanced class students may have different vocabulary and make fewer errors for verbs displayed in this chapter. To collect data in other levels may help fulfil point (b) in Svartvik's listing in 5.0, which says that error analysis helps 'to achieve



a realistic ranking of teaching priorities at different levels'. This can be a further research concern in teaching aspect.

In this thesis we have investigated and compared the aspect of Japanese and English at the formal and verb class levels. We have also analysed learners' aspect errors in compositions.

First, we have given an introduction to Japanese and English aspect. Then we have compared the aspect of Japanese and English. In the next part, we have analysed the aspect errors in Japanese and English compositions. In the final part, we have given some conclusions and suggestions for further research.

# (1) Grammatical form

Aspect	Japanese	English
stative aspect	～である	be
dynamic aspect	～ている	is/are
perfective aspect	～た	have/has

Our investigation has shown that stative aspect is more important than dynamic aspect in Japanese and English.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion

In this thesis we have investigated and compared the aspect system in Japanese and English at the formal and verb class levels. We have also analyzed learners' aspectual errors from compositions.

First, we have examined the grammatical forms which are used for three aspectual meanings in both Japanese and English. For stative aspect, Japanese uses *-ru* and *-teiru*, whereas English uses  $\emptyset$  and *be -ing*, and for dynamic perfective aspect, Japanese uses *-ru* and English uses  $\emptyset$ . Dynamic imperfective aspect is expressed by *-teiru* in Japanese and *be -ing* in English.

### (1) Grammatical form

Aspect	Japanese	English
dynamic-perfective aspect	<i>-ru</i>	$\emptyset$
dynamic-imperfective aspect	<i>-teiru</i>	<i>be -ing</i>
stative aspect	<i>-ru</i> <i>-teiru</i>	$\emptyset$ <i>be -ing</i>

Our investigation has made it clear that stative aspect manifests itself

as mere state, result and experience in Japanese, while only mere state and result are found in English. Therefore, English lacks aspectual expressions for experience, so for example, experience expressed by Japanese *tabeteiru* in (2) cannot be expressed by aspectual forms in English.

(2) Experience

- a. Ototoshi tempura o tabe-teiru.  
year before t. ACC eat-experience
- b. I ate tempura the year before last year.

(2b) contains 'ate' which indicates perfective aspect, while *tabeteiru* in (2a) signifies stative aspect. Moreover, these two are also different in terms of tense: *-teiru* is the present tense form, and 'ate' is the past tense form. The relation between these two verb phrases, i.e. 'ate' and *tabeteiru* is not grammatical but rather translational or pragmatic.

Our investigation has also suggested that assumption of the correspondence of English *be -ing* ↔ Japanese *-teiru* is not always possible.

At the verb class level, Japanese Change verbs were shown to have the most complicated association with English verbs. (3) shows that Japanese Change verbs are expressed by Stative verbs, Change verbs, Punctual verbs, Process verbs and adjectives in English.

(3) Verb class and verb type

Japanese verb class	Verb type	English verb class
Change verbs	subsistence/relation inert cognition consumption	Stative verbs
	bodily sensation	Change verbs
	position	Punctual verbs (some Adjectives)
	property	(Adjectives)
	momentary action transitional movement	Process verbs

That Japanese Change verbs have the most diverse relationship with English verb classes is due to the fact that Japanese *-teiru* has more stative implications than imperfective meaning. For example, verbs referring to momentary action and transitional movement are Change verbs in Japanese, while they are Process verbs in English as in (4) and (5).

(4) Momentary action

- a. Michi ni saifu ga ochi-teiru.  
road LOC wallet SUB drop (Change verb-stative)  
(lit) A wallet is on the road.
- b. A wallet is dropping.  
(Process verb-imperfective)

(5) Transitional movement

- a. Kare wa Kyambera ni kaet-teiru.  
he TOP Canberra to return (Change verb-stative)

He has returned to Canberra.

- b. He is returning to Canberra.  
(Process verb-imperfective)

Both *ochiteiru* in (4a) and *kaetteiru* in (5a) indicate the results of dropping or returning, i.e. stative aspect, whereas the English expressions with *be -ing* in (4) and (5) signify the imperfective phenomena of dropping and returning but not their results.

We have looked at errors involving aspect which are produced by Japanese learners whose first language is English. Our error analysis revealed that the learners made mistakes of Interference most frequently. This suggests that a contrastive analysis of Japanese and English aspect is significant for teaching Japanese aspect, since such errors are predictable in the light of contrastive analysis.

Our analysis has further established an hierarchy of difficulties in learning the *-teiru* form. Among the four usages, progress should be the easiest to understand for English native speakers, as the English *be -ing* corresponds to the Japanese *-teiru* in this usage. The most difficult to acquire would be the expression of experience with *-teiru*, as the English *be -ing* does



not express experience, as explained above. Since English verbs which express mere state and result with *be -ing* are few, only verbs of bodily sensation for mere state, and those of posture for result. The use of the Japanese *-teiru* form to indicate mere state and result will also be difficult. We thus, have proposed that progress should be taught earlier and experience last, and mere state and result in between.

We have also established an hierarchy of difficulties at verb class level; Change and Durative verbs are the most difficult verbs to acquire, the next most difficult are Punctual verbs, and the other three, i.e. Stative, Process, and Process-Change verbs are remarkably easy to acquire.

This thesis has not dealt with tense systems, which is another grammatical category involving temporal expressions. Although we have drawn many conclusions which should be valuable in acquiring a deeper understanding of Japanese and English aspect systems, an approach which included tense would be useful for helping English-speaking learners of Japanese to manipulate Japanese temporal expressions.

The data for the error analysis was taken from beginner learners of Japanese only. In errors of advanced students it is predicted that Interference will decrease as the advanced students are more accustomed to the Japanese aspect system. An error analysis based on data from students at various levels would be valuable in constructing a realistic ranking of teaching

priorities, and in order to prepare suitable teaching materials and appropriate tests for different levels. These should be objects for further aspectual study.

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